

The Exiles



AN ARCHIVAL HISTORY
OF THE WORLD WAR II
JAPANESE ROAD CAMPS
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ONTARIO

by

YON SHIMIZU

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FOREWORD

This book is the result of my unsuccessful attempt to write about the sugar beet experience which many Japanese had to endure as a result of their exile from the "Protected Area". My request in the "Nikkei Voice" for responses from the men who had had that particular experience in Ontario, resulted in two replies.

Given the lack of survivor response, I decided instead, that I would research the Public Archives of Canada, on the Road Camps instead. This book, then, is the result of that research. My regret is, that given the sources which were used to develop the history, I do not have the balance in the history which might have been useful, had survivor anecdotal material been used. The reader will quickly notice that the reports from the road camps were all up-beat and cheerful in contrast to the reports of the Resident Engineers. The Censors would not allow anything of a detrimental nature about the road camps to be printed. The Engineers' reports and possibly some of the Censors' condemned excerpts, give the picture behind the scenes which the men could not report. However, as one continues to read these official reports, one cannot help but wonder how much covering up and "protecting one's ass" the Engineers were practising. Nevertheless, this is the Archival material, and I have done my best to present it as it was written. The reader will have to judge where the truth actually lies.

A fear I have about the book, is the Japanese translations, especially the "haiku". My knowledge of Japanese is next to nothing, so I went to people who might be able to help me, and what the reader reads, is what I received in good faith, so please accept it with our apologies, if some of it is not "haiku" as the purist would translate the piece. We did the best we could.

In the process of writing this book I received help from many sources which I wish to acknowledge at this point. In the collecting of the archival material, my thanks go to the staff of the Public Archives of Canada who were so helpful in getting me started by providing me with their reference document, "SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE TREATMENT OF JAPANESE CANADIANS, 1941-1950". They retrieved material from storage for me and cleared the restricted material for me in a timely way. My nephew, Ken Shimizu, welcomed me into his home whenever I was in Ottawa. Terry Watada in Toronto reviewed the draft copy of my first attempt at getting started, and

made suggestions which would make the book more readable. I believe that I have succeeded in doing that. My brother Stum reviewed a few chapters and made suggestions for improvement, as well as providing a place for me to stay when I was in Toronto, as did my sister, Shizuko Ebata. My good friend and former colleague at work, Bill Campbell, proof read every chapter for me and pointed out errors making my job easier and also giving me encouragement when I needed it. My good friend, John Gardiner, former Editor of the "*Wallaceburg News*", stepped in to do the editing for me when I was not able to find the right person to do the job. He was a great help to me in honing the text to be more readable and technically correct. My heartfelt thanks to the men and women who took the time to provide me with their biographies for the last chapter. It took more than one effort for them, because I really did not know what to ask for in the first instance and kept asking for more information! Thank you people for your patience and understanding!

Thanks also to the following:

- my new found friends in Hamilton, Victor Kadonaga, David Sugai and Roy Honda, who were so helpful with the Hope-Princeton Chapter, and with providing photographs to use. A very special thanks to George Funamoto who took the time to write his memories of the Princeton Camps, and for the many photographs of that time;
- to Midge (Ishii) Ayukawa and Kim (Iwamoto) Izumi, for lending me their fathers' photographs of the road camp days, to use;
- my sister-in-law, Kyoshi (Kato) Shimizu for pictures and biographical information about her husband, Kunio Shimizu;
- Frank Moritsugu and the "Nikkei Voice" for permission to reprint Frank's memories of Yard Creek on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project.
- Gary Comeau, for his technical work on the cover photo;
- the many people I turned to for help with the Japanese translations;
- and finally, a very big thank you to my younger brother, Osamu, without whose long hours at his computer, technical help and expertise in desk top publishing, I could not have produced the manuscript in its present format. Also to him and his wife, Michiko, for keeping and feeding me while we worked on the last stages of preparing the book for the printers.

Finally, my apologies if I have forgotten anyone and for any other errors of omission and/or commission, for which I assume the complete responsibility.

Y. Shimizu
July, 1993

This book is dedicated to:

my mother, Hana Shimizu,

and all the other hardy Issei pioneers

who endured the pain of exile

and still chose Canada as the land

for themselves and their descendants.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The index has been shortened by indicating most of the following officials by their first occurrence only, in each chapter. Usually only their final office will be shown. Other often used words have also been reduced in the references in the index.

Anscomb, H., Minister of Public Works, BC, after Bruhn's death.
Brown, A.H., Assistant to Deputy Minister of Labour.
Brown, A., Japanese Section, Labour Department (LD), Ottawa.
Bruhn, R.W., Minister of Public Works, BC.
Collins, G. Commissioner of Japanese Placement, Vancouver.
Corning, R.M., Assistant Engineer, Y-BR Project.
Crerar, T.A., Minister, Department of Mines and Resources (M&R).
Eastwood, W.A., General Manager, BCSC.
Green, J.B., MP for Sikstoke riding, BC.
Hill, C.H., Officer Commanding, "E" Division, RCMP, Vanc.
Maag, E.H., International Red Cross Representative.
MacNamara, A., Deputy Minister of Labour, Ottawa.
McVety, J.H., Regional Superintendent UIC, Vancouver.
Mead, F.J., Commissioner BCSC, & Ass't. Commissioner RCMP, Ottawa.
Mellor, A.H., Executive Assistant, BCSC.
Mills, T.S., Chief Engineer, Surveys & Engineering (S & E), M & R.
Mitchell, J.H., Sr. Assistant Engineer, Y-BR Project.
Pammett, H.D., Japanese Division, LD, Ottawa.
Pickersgill, T.B., Chief Japanese Placement Officer, Vancouver.
Pounder, J.A., General Executive Ass't., S & E, Ottawa.
Shirras, J., Assistant Commissioner, B.C. Provincial Police.
Smith, A.A., Chief Engineer, Department of Highways, Ontario.
Taylor, A.T., Chairman, B.C. Security Commission (BCSC).
Tiller, E.P., Assistant Supervising Engineer, R-S Project.
Walker, C.M., Supervising Engineer, S & E, M & R, Banff.
Wardle, J.H., Director, Surveys and Engineering Mines & Resources. Wishart, W.J., General Foreman, Y-BR Project.
Wood, S.T., Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

CHAPTER 1

PROLOGUE

PROLOGUE

"December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy", in the words of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was the day when the cruel winds of war began to blow into the lives of the Japanese communities living along the coastal areas of British Columbia, changing their lives forever. I can remember that I was on my hands and knees scrubbing the old linoleum floor in the living room of the rented house in which we lived in Victoria, when I heard the news flash on the radio about the bombing of Pearl Harbour. I immediately ran out of the room to tell the rest of my family what I had heard, my mother who was 48 and had been widowed since Jan. 1, 1940, a sister who was 22, and two brothers who were 19 and 14. I was frightened and dismayed, and we asked each other "*now what would happen to us?*" Life had never been easy for Japanese in British Columbia, but none of us were really prepared for the devastating events which were to unfold in the coming months.

Despite the rising tide of anti-Japanese hysteria manifesting itself along the British Columbia coast, most of us believed that British justice and Dominion Government sanity would prevail over the hysteria. How wrong we were!

✓ The story of our exile began with a Conference of three meetings held in Ottawa on January 8th and 9th of 1942. It was attended by three Cabinet Ministers, headed by that very anti-Japanese BC Member of Parliament, Ian Mackenzie, and as well, the members of The Standing Committee on Orientals in BC (1) (See Appendix Chapter 1, 1., p. for the Agenda.)

Ken Adachi in his book "THE ENEMY THAT NEVER WAS" wrote about this meeting, using what material was available to him in 1976. He wrote that "*the delegation from British Columbia, headed by provincial Minister of Labour George Pearson, was 'breathing fire'. As spokesmen for non-evacuation were putting forth their case, the delegation intervened and 'all hell broke loose', their rage a 'sight to behold.'* ... Escott Reid, an External Affairs official, said: '*I felt in that committee room the physical presence of evil.*' " (2)

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The minutes of that meeting do not adequately capture the atmosphere or the essence of that meeting as written by Adachi. Instead words such as "*A full and frank discussion took place ... The members of the Conference who had just arrived from British Columbia found it difficult to accept the assurances ...*" (see Appendix Chapter 1, 2., for the complete text of the minutes and the list of attendees)

Mayor Hume, the Mayor of New Westminster, and Chairman of the Standing Committee, concluded his presentation to the meeting "*by saying that the public in British Columbia was demanding that the Japanese be removed from the coastal area*". The Conference could not agree unanimously on the measures which might be taken to control Japanese Nationals in BC, which caused Mr. Pearson, the representative of the government of BC, to state, "*that if the Government of Canada ignores the views of the representatives of British Columbia they could not expect the Government of British Columbia to be enthusiastic or very effective in trying to 'sell' the ideas supported by the Dominion Government to the people of British Columbia.*" (1)

In the Conference endorsement of these three meetings held January 8th & 9th, five BC representatives made the following recommendations:

"1. That arrangements be made by the Canadian Government for the removal of able-bodied adult male Japanese nationals from the coastal area of British Columbia, and that employment of a suitable character be provided for them under conditions which may be considered reasonable under the circumstances; in areas and under conditions which will assure their removal from any suspicion of possibility of subversive activities.

2. that where the circumstances reasonably permit, women and children be allowed to accompany the head of the family." (1)

I believe that if the Dominion government had paid sufficient attention to the second recommendation, much of the turmoil and grief which subsequently followed might have been avoided. As it was, the separation of married men from their families created a situation which tore the community apart. The government

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officials charged with the responsibility for the evacuation of the Japanese on the coast, compounded the situation by choosing to work closely with a man named Morii and two of his men as their contact with the community. Morii was feared by the community because of his *"disreputable character"* (Adachi: p.239) and opposition to him and the committee arose from three groups; the Naturalized Citizens Committee, led by Bunji Hisaoka; the Japanese Canadian Citizens Council whose general secretary and spokesman was my oldest brother, Kunio; and the Nisei Mass Evacuation Group (MEG), led by Fuji Tanaka, who would not willingly be separated from their families, and were willing to risk internment in POW camps, where eventually over 700 men would be interned, with over 400 of them remaining there for the duration of the war. (3)

As a result of continuous pressure from politicians and others in British Columbia, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced a "partial" evacuation of all Japanese aliens from a protected area of the west coast on the 14th of January. The machinery of the Dominion Government then went into action and J.H. Wardle, Director of Surveys and Engineering of the Department of Mines and Resources, was asked by the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, N.A. Robertson, to begin to investigate work projects for Canadian-born Japanese and Enemy Aliens. All the projects which came under immediate consideration were road construction activities in various parts of BC, and the focus would be on those which could be worked as much as possible by hand labour. (4)

On the same day, a meeting of various officials was held in the office of Humphrey Mitchell, the Dominion Minister of Labour, where the movement away from the coast of about 4,000 male, Japanese Nationals (enemy aliens) was discussed, along with the question of differentiation in treatment for Canadian-born, naturalized Japanese, and enemy aliens. Mitchell's comment in this regard was that *"they would all be treated alike in regard to treatment and work"*. This certainly was a most telling comment when other government officials at the same time were talking

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vaguely about the formation of a voluntary "*civilian corps of Canadian Japanese*". Even H. Hereford, Special Assistant to the Dominion Deputy Minister of Labour, in his memorandum to the Deputy Minister would note: "*the Minister may be under a very serious misapprehension when he says that all Japanese would be treated alike*". It was at this meeting that the use of road camps in Ontario at Schreiber and Jackfish was first proposed because of the immediate availability of accommodation for upwards of 550 men. (4) (see Appendix Chapter 1, 3., for Hereford's memorandum)

Immediately following this meeting, Wardle wired C.M. Walker, Supervising Engineer, Engineering and Construction Service, Banff, Alberta and enquired how soon a camp to house 100 Japanese could be established for winter work on the Golden-Leancoil road. He also asked if local residents could be expected to object to the presence of the Japanese. The next day, Walker replied that it would take three to four weeks to get a camp ready because of a shortage of carpenters and material and that he thought the proposed location was a dangerous one because of the proximity of a railroad. He anticipated strenuous objections from both railway officials and local residents. Walker suggested other locations, among which was the extension of the road from Jasper to Yellowhead Pass, which could absorb about 200 men. (4)

After receiving this information, Wardle noted in his file that the situation with respect to work camps for Japanese which could be immediately utilized, existed in Ontario where 300 men could be housed on the Lake Superior section of the Trans-Canada Highway in two existing camps. These could be quickly enlarged for 250 more. The Ontario Highway Department promised full co-operation in this undertaking, and there was the further potential to erect another 150-man camp. Camps could be established in British Columbia as Walker suggested in his telegram but there were no existing camp buildings which could immediately be used for housing the Japanese who needed to be moved. (4)

While the authorities were looking for places to move the first group of Japanese Nationals, The Austin Lumber Co. at Dolton

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and Nicholson in Ontario, wired J.H.McVety Regional Director of the UIC in Vancouver on January 26th that they would place 100 Japanese in their woods operations. This was the first offer for Japanese labour to come from any industry, anywhere in the Dominion, many of whom were hurting for labour because of the loss of able bodied men to the armed forces. (5) (Later, on February 5th, the Manitoba Sugar Beet Co.'s request for 900 men would be reported by the RCMP.)

With increasing pressure in British Columbia for the removal of Japanese Nationals, Mitchell, the Minister of Labour, wrote a letter on January 27th to his colleague, T.A.Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources, in which he mentioned the establishment of camps in the vicinity of Yellowhead Pass towards Tete Jaune, to accommodate at least 500 men as soon as possible, probably expanding to 2,000. He also suggested that arrangements be made for camps at Jackfish and Schreiber in Ontario. (6)

That same day, Wardle wrote a three page memo for his own file, in which he outlined his understanding of the situation with respect to the removal of Japanese Nationals. At this time, the plans called for the removal of only Japanese Nationals between the ages of 17 and 45, and 1700 was the estimate of the number of men who would be involved. It was expected that these men would be placed in camps located on the Yellowhead-Blue River Road in British Columbia and in Ontario on the Trans-Canada Highway. (4) (see Appendix Chapter 1, 4., for the complete text of the memo)

The first public mention of what was in store for Japanese Nationals, who had not been rounded up and interned immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, came with this article in the January 28th issue of "The New Canadian", the only Japanese community newspaper allowed to publish after December 7th. (Author's note: hereafter referred to as "The N.C.") Tom Shoyama was the very outspoken and articulate editor and publisher of this English language newspaper serving the Nisei population. Later, it had to publish in the Japanese language as

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well, because it was the only medium available for informing the many Japanese Issei who could not read English.

"Road Projects Likely Under Federal Labor Department

Two weeks after the original announcement of federal government policy calling for the compulsory removal of Japanese and other enemy nationals from the British Columbia coast the actual details are still far from clear. Out of the confusion of reports and 'scare' stories however the picture is becoming plainer. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's statement, promised in the House, is expected to outline officially some of the details.

It seems clear that as well as the enforced 'removal' the government is anxious to push its 'voluntary civilian corps', and to do its utmost to secure the 'voluntary' co-operation of naturalized and natural-born citizens of Japanese origin.

Several reports show that a detailed program may be expected shortly. ...

Several highway projects have been considered. Among these are the Prince Rupert connection, the North Thompson Road north of Kamloops, the Hope-Princeton highway and the Sicamous-Revelstoke section of the Trans - Canada Highway.

The difficulty is in choosing road projects today that are so necessary to national defence and sound economic ventures as to justify fully the expenditure of \$10 million."

C.A.Grout, the President of the National Parks Highway Association, wrote a letter on January 28th to Hon.R.L.Ralston, Minister of National Defence, about the desirability of work on the Yellowhead-Blue River Road. He explained that except for the Big Bend Highway, there was no highway in Canada connecting the Coast and the Prairies and it could not be kept open in the winter. However, through the Yellowhead Pass by Jasper, the existing highway would require only a few miles of construction to complete. Between Edmonton and Vancouver on this route, construction would be required on about four and a half miles in Jasper Park and west of Jasper Park between Mt. Geiki and

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Valemount about four or five miles, and about thirty miles between Valemount and Blue River. (7)

In order to establish what the responsibility of Mines and Resources personnel would be in the removal of the Japanese, Crerar, the Minister of the Department, wrote to Mitchell, the Labour Minister, on January 29th as follows, in part:

"...It is my distinct understanding that the responsibility of this Department, through its Surveys and Engineering Branch, will be restricted to the establishment of camps, the laying out of the work, and its efficient undertaking to the extent possible by the Japanese nationals. This Department can assume no responsibility for the retention of the men in camp nor for possible sabotage that might be attempted where the work will lie in the vicinity of railway lines or other facilities. ...

It should also be arranged that if any Japanese national was troublesome in camp or refused to contribute a fair day's work for remuneration received he would, on the request of the Engineer in Charge, be immediately removed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. ..." (4)

On January 29th, H.C.Bray, Major, G.S.O. 2, Intelligence, Pacific Command, sent a **"SECRET"** letter to the Director Military Operations & Intelligence, National Defence Headquarters, Ottawa. He wrote that feelings against the Japanese, which had been running quite high, subsided when the Dominion Government said that it would remove enemy aliens from the coast of British Columbia. However, with action not having taken place, Bray reported: *"There is a considerable discontent and resentment among the white population at this apparent inaction."* (8) (see Appendix Chapter 1, 5., for complete text) (Adachi, in his book refers to this letter and because of its timing, coming so very soon after the return to BC of the members of the Standing Committee, writes *"It was clear, that the British Columbia delegates were determined, by whatever means, to see their wishes carried out."* This letter completely reversed the Command's previous stand on

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the threat to national security posed by the Japanese community on the Pacific Coast.) (2)

On January 30th, "The N.C." printed the following article:

*"Okanagan OK if...! Ontario Gives Bid
Ontario Wants Workers"*

"Labor shortages in Ontario have prompted lumber companies in Cochrane in northern Ontario to ask the Federal Government to transfer some of the Japanese removed from the Pacific Coast areas to this district.

It is believed that those removed in this way would be hired by private industry under supervision of the R.C.M.P. and details of possible employment may shortly be given out."

"The N.C." printed more information about removal of Japanese Nationals ("enemy aliens") from the coastal areas informing its readers of what was being discussed at the highest levels of the Government. The following was printed in the February 2nd issue:

"First Movement from Coast to Ontario Lumber Camps

Vancouver February 2. - First organized movement of Japanese Nationals of any size from the British Columbia coast is expected to take place this week, when a number of men will entrain for Ontario, probably on Wednesday, it was reported today.

In Ottawa government spokesmen said that probably 100 men or more would come east to work in Ontario lumber camps.

A Department of Labor spokesman said 'They would be hired through our own agency in Vancouver' (The Employment Service of Canada) adding however, that 'I have not had a report about it from there yet.'

Interviewed in Vancouver, Commissioner Hill of the R. C. M. Police said that the men will likely go to Ontario, and that J.H.McVety, director of the Employment Service was in charge of the hiring.

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Cochrane Likely

Cochrane, northern Ontario lumber centre, where lumber companies have expressed the desire to hire Japanese aliens to meet an acute labor shortage, is believed to be the probable destination of the evacuees. Hiring of the men has been proceeding over the week-end in Vancouver and the R.C.M.P. it is understood, are facilitating legal steps required under the registration of enemy aliens.

Single Men

The majority going are unmarried young men who have been working in various industries and stores in the city. Unemployed workers are also included. It is said that a number have volunteered to go to Ontario in the belief that it is better to move as soon as possible, rather than to wait until the government sets some kind of deadline.

More on Roadwork

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation declared in a broadcast last night that the Federal Government would announce a detailed plan of removal 'within a few days'.

The Daily Province Ottawa correspondent reported Saturday that the labor of British Columbia Japanese is to be utilised to construct a highway from Jasper westerly to Prince George. This is not simply a suggested project, but a definite plan for which arrangements are being made by two departments - that of labor and that of mines and resources. 500 Japanese nationals will be moved to start the work and this number will be boosted to 2000 before the project is completed. It will include besides Japanese nationals, the civilian corps made up of volunteers from natural-born and naturalized citizens. The roadway would pass through the Blue River area, following the line of surveys made some years ago. It would eventually link up with Prince George and the existing road from there to the coast...

Ontario Interested

In Toronto, Hon.P.M.Dewan, Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, stated that a proposal to bring in some thousand Japanese from

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British Columbia for work on Ontario farms was being studied by the Ontario provincial government."

Despite the glimmer of hope in these reports, for those men who were anxious to leave the province, T.B. McQuesten, Minister of Highways, Ontario, wrote a letter on February 3rd to Crerar, the Dominion Minister whose department was charged with the responsibility for the work camps, referring to the proposed work on the Trans-Canada Highway between Schreiber and Jackfish, in part:

"...This matter, however, is one which does not appeal to me and I am entirely opposed to this policy." (6)

With the pressure to remove some Japanese from the province, HLK (Author's note: presumably Keenleyside.) in the State Department, sent a memo on February 4th, to Robertson, which illustrates the extent to which the bureaucrats were prepared to go, to send Japanese out of BC to road camps in Ontario. He wrote, in part:

"... Under the circumstances the Employment Service of the Department of Labour has postponed the first movement of Japanese from British Columbia from Wednesday of this week until Monday of next week (the 9th). At that time it is intended to move 100 Japanese from the Coast direct to a camp in the Schreiber area. If any question is raised, this movement will be explained as a carrying out of the normal function of the Employment Service. ...

Nevertheless, when these 100 Japanese arrive in Northern Ontario we may expect fulminations from Toronto." (7)

On the following day, Thursday, February 5th, "The N.C." printed this article:

"Ninety Nationals Leave Monday for Ontario

First Group Removed from Defence Area

Flash! The departure of Japanese Nationals scheduled for tonight has been postponed until next Monday, February 9.

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The first group of Japanese nationals evacuating the British Columbia 'protected area' leaves tonight at 7:15 pm via Canadian Pacific, bound for Chapleau, Ontario. Ninety strong the contingent is composed almost entirely of single males of military age, who will be employed in the lumber camps and sawmills of the northern Ontario lumbering centre."

The story then went on to explain where Chapleau was, the fact that the men were to be paid the prevailing wages, and all the men who were going were listed.

The reason for the delay and finally, cancellation of the departure of this first group of men for Ontario was because of objections from many groups in that part of northern Ontario area and including the Premier of the Province, Mitchell Hepburn. Yet, he would be very instrumental, later, in the movement and acceptance of the Japanese in Ontario, by his use of single men and some families on his farm in the St. Thomas area, by the middle of 1942. "The N.C." would be reporting on the delay and cancellation on February 9th, and 14th.

A few of the senior departmental officials involved in the removal process were very conscious of the need to handle the Japanese in accordance with established standards of international behaviour. On February 6th, Wardle wrote to Dr.H.Keenleyside, Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, in part:

"Dear Dr. Keenleyside,-

We hope to begin almost immediately the establishment of winter camps for the employment of Japanese Nationals on the Jasper-Yellowhead-Blue River section of the north highway connecting Alberta with the Pacific Coast. We have in mind erecting the same class of camp building that was used when we had from 4,000 to 5,000 single unemployed in camps some 8 or 9 years ago. These consist of frame buildings of rough lumber covered with tar paper and a special type of roofing paper for the roof section. Our bunkhouse accommodates 50 men, is well lighted and there is plenty of room. The bunkhouses are well heated by stoves. Washing facilities are of course provided. In addition there

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is a laundry and bath building. A dining room with kitchen annex is also provided which will handle 100 men at one time.

Single steel bed springs or wooden bunks with straw palliasses will be provided, preferably the former if sufficient can be secured. Each building has a 2" wooden floor.

...

Before actually beginning erection I would like to be advised if the accommodation proposed would meet with the requirements of any international rules or agreements there may be covering the class of accommodation to be provide for enemy aliens. ... " (7)

H.L.Macpherson, Department of National Defense, Directorate of Organization and Administration (POW), replied on February 26 to Wardle's letter of February 6, 1942 concerning camp specifications, and advised that the facilities being considered met the necessary requirements for interning civilians. (1)

By February 7th, the Government had decided that male Enemy Aliens (Japanese Nationals) aged 18-45 yrs. inclusive, had to leave the protected area on or before the first day of April 1942. (5)

And on the 9th, "The N.C." reported:

*"April 1st Deadline for Removal of Nationals
18 - 45 Group Affected - R.C.M.P. in Charge
Work Camp West of Jasper Likely.*

Ottawa, - An order-in-council published Monday night in the Canada Gazette has placed the final date for removal of enemy nationals from the protected area of British Columbia as April 1. Authority for the removal is provided in the order, which declares that no enemy aliens may enter, leave or return to the protected area except by permission of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The R.C.M.P. and the Department of Labor, it is understood, will administer government policy, now that the federal standing committee has been dissolved.

Actual steps in the removal have not yet been announced, although an Ottawa spokesman said that the first group would

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leave the coast at week's end to work on road construction west of Jasper, Alberta.

This was taken to apply to the 90 odd Japanese nationals who were scheduled to leave Vancouver Monday night for Chapleau, Ontario. Their departure has been delayed indefinitely, and reports from the east indicate that any such movement is not likely to develop in any numbers.

The Ontario lumber camp plan had been looked upon as the first definite movement under government supervision, and numbers of other local nationals had been half expecting to follow up the first group shortly. The change in plans suggests that the project may not go through at all and road works may absorb the majority.

No official word has been received at all in regard to the plans for naturalized and Canadian-born citizens who are expected to form the 'civilian corps' announced previously.

Marking Time

In the meantime, the most important effects of the uncertainty are noted in the farming districts, where Japanese farmers are not going ahead as energetically as usual. Clearing of land, fertilizing of plants, and the hatching of chicks are some of the seasonal tasks not being pushed as usual, since no one knows if they can be properly finished.

In Ottawa a Labor Department spokesman said that the delay in the movement of the nationals had been caused by a cancellation of an order by lumber companies. These in turn, said the cancellation was due to the 'shortness of the season and probably to other reasons as well.'

One protest against the importation of the workers into Ontario had been filed with the government over the week-end by the Port Arthur Trades and Labor Council."

Also on the 9th, Commissioner S.T. Wood of the RCMP in Ottawa, wrote to C.H. Hill, O/C of the Vancouver detachment of the RCMP, and explained that the cancellation of the Austin Lumber offer was caused by the Ontario government. (5)

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For his own reasons, H.A. Dixon, Chief Engineer, Operation Department, Canadian National Railway, sent a letter to Wardle on February 11th and wrote, in part:

" ... I lived at what is known as Redpass Junction during 1912 to 1915 inclusive ...

It sometimes gets quite cold in the winter ... I have seen it hold at 40 degrees below for three weeks steady. The depth of snow varies, ... heaviest is at Blue River, and gradually gets less until at Canoe River it is about two feet, compacted snow. It runs about that East to Mount Robson and then gets gradually heavier until it is about four feet at Redpass, and about two feet at Yellowhead Pass.

... We used to wear heavy woollen underwear, flannel shirt, heavy gray socks, German socks, Mackinaw pants and coat, and 9" lumberman's rubbers which had a rubber bottom and leather top, also woollen mitts and cloth cap with ear flaps." (6)

(Author's note: The above has been included to give the reader a sense of the conditions that the Exiles, who were used to the balmy West Coast climate, were to experience.)

An obsessive concern about possible sabotage by the Exiles seems to have occupied the Government officials and the men who were involved with the planning of the removal of the Exiles. On February 12th, A. MacNamara, Associate Deputy Minister of Labour, wrote to Commissioner Wood about the discussion Crerar and Assistant Commissioner Mead of the R.C.M.P. had about possible sabotage. Mead assured MacNamara that a Constable would be provided for each work car unit for day and night duty. MacNamara wanted Wood to confirm all of the above and also stated that where the work camps are established, *" ... such police protection as is found necessary or advisable will be provided"*. (Author's note: it should be noted here, that despite the unrest and disruptions which were to be manifested later in the road camps, no act of sabotage ever occurred as a result of the discontent.) (9)

In response to MacNamara's letter, Wood replied two days later, pointing out that the RCMP were prepared to protect against sabotage, but *"that the Japanese nationals are in no way working under police compulsion."* (5)

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By this time, the decision had been made on which project the men would work, and on February 13th, Wardle wrote to MacNamara advising him that the only camps to be established at this time would be on the Yellowhead-Tete Jaune Cache-Blue River Highway. The Province favoured this because of the ease with which the camps could be established at this time. The Province also wanted to see how much Japanese labour could be economically absorbed. They initially expected to locate five hundred men in camps, between Yellowhead and Tete Jaune Cache. (9)

"The N.C." may have had some advance indication of the decision, because on the same day as Wardle wrote to MacNamara, the newspaper printed:

"Jasper Project Closer...Ont. Out - Mackenzie Back

Indications that road work west of Jasper to Tete Jaune Cache would be the major project upon which Japanese nationals moved from the British Columbia protected area will be placed in the near future mounted yesterday. Reports from Ottawa add that the first movement is scheduled for next week, although reliable information is still lacking.

Ian Mackenzie, minister of pensions and national health, announced however that work is being rushed to construct work camps in that section sufficient to house 2000 men.

Collapse of negotiations with Ontario lumber companies to place men at work in the camps and mills left a number of men stranded in the city. It is believed that these would be the first detachment moved.

Hepburn Did It

It was disclosed in Ottawa today that the Ontario arrangements had fallen through because of protests from Premier Mitchell Hepburn. The Ontario Premier, it is said, made representations to Ottawa with the results that the arrangements were cancelled.

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A guess from Ottawa also declared that any projects for Japanese would have to be carried on within the boundaries of British Columbia.

Similarly it was reported that the organization of the civilian corps of Canadian-born Japanese is being completed and it is expected that this corps will start to function in the near future.

No word of confirmation was available in Vancouver, and the Japanese Canadian Citizens League said that it was still awaiting some official notification from Ottawa."

With the pressures mounting on the Government to remove all the Japanese males from the coastal areas, MacNamara wrote to Wardle on February 14th expressing doubt that one project would absorb all the men, and suggested that Wardle begin to consider a second project especially in view of the "*Canadian Japanese Construction Corps which Mackenzie King announced in the House recently*". A project would be needed to absorb this group which would mean at least three projects, because the Government wanted to keep Japanese Nationals separate from Japanese Canadians, both natural-born and naturalized. (9)

The same day, G.A.Shea, Director of Investigation of the CNR, wrote to Commissioner Wood that Management's agreement for housing Japanese in boarding cars temporarily on CNR premises was based on the assurance from McLarty, Acting Minister of Labour, "*that adequate protection day and night will be provided by your Force*". Management was concerned about the availability of explosives for clearing rockslides, the possible tampering with tracks and switches, and the close proximity of the Japanese to the "*important transcontinental line*". (5)

"The N.C." reported on February 16th:

"Alien Removal by Labor Department Soon

Van. - As far as could be learned today, arrangements for the removal of Japanese nationals of military age are being planned by the federal department of labor which is expected to make announcements shortly, following the posting of regulations by the

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RCMP Saturday. The Mounted Police have not received further instructions, other than the posting of order signed by Commissioner S.T.Wood.

Saturday's announcement also included an official order banning the possession or use by enemy aliens in the protected area of cameras, short wave receivers, etc."

The rest of the article went on to present in detail the order that was posted "*... pursuant to the provisions of Regulation 4 of the Defence of Canada Act regulations*". (Author's note: I can remember that it was sometime around this period that we were visited by two RCMP Officers who told us that they had been informed that we still had radios which had not been turned in and that they were empowered to make a search. My older brother "Stum" was interested in fooling around with radio and had built a crystal set which actually worked! He had also amassed various used radio parts including an old mantel radio which worked, I believe. Anyway, they came in, found all the parts in the house, and to my dying day, I will always remember the sight of those two Officers walking out of our home carrying the old mantel radio one on each end of the approximately four foot length! One aspect of their visit which impressed me was the thoroughness of their search. They looked through the house well, and then proceeded to conduct a search of the outside of the house which included looking under the front and back porches!)

With removal almost ready to implement, Acting Chief Commissioner A. MacNamara, of UIC, wrote, on February 16th, to J.H. McVety, Pacific Regional Sup't., UIC, of the plan to move some Japanese nationals that week into two work car units of 50 men each. The basic pay rate was set at 25¢/hr. for eight hours and meals to be paid by the men. If married, or with dependents, \$20./month was to be assigned to their dependents, "*which, it is hoped, will keep the wife*". Any children would be paid for at the rate of \$5./month to a maximum of five children. The men would be required to supply their own bedding and clothing. They would also be required to sign a statement to abide by the discipline of the camp and to assign \$20. for support of dependents. In addition,

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there would be a \$1./month deduction for medical attention. McVety was advised to begin enrolling the first 100 men. (5)

T.S.Mills, Chief Engineer, Surveys and Engineering Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, wrote on February 17th to J.H. Mitchell, Senior Assistant Engineer, Jasper, Alberta, in part:

"1. ...

to

11. We are advised that the matter of getting the Japanese away from the coast is one of extreme urgency and everything possible should be done by you to prepare for them as quickly as possible.

12 ... The standard camp for 100 Japanese will consist of the following:

2 54-man bunkhouses

1 staff bunkhouse

1 mess building for 100 men

1 mess building for 25 men." (10)

R.C.Vaughan, President of the CNR, wrote to P.J.A. Cardin, Dominion Minister of Transport, on February 17th, referring to a request from the Department of Mines and Resources and the Department of Labour to provide boarding cars "for some Japanese who are to be moved to the interior" for work on the adjacent highway. He expressed concern for the security of the rail line. "I do not like the idea of these Japanese being housed in boarding cars on the Canadian National tracks in the middle of the mountains, where it is difficult to police them no matter how many men the Canadian Mounted Police may have on hand. It would be very easy for one of them to do some damage to a bridge, or some other railway structure, which might tie up our line indefinitely. It would seem to me that they should be kept some distance away from the railway." (5)

Commissioner Wood advised C.H.Hill, the Officer Commanding RCMP at Vancouver, by telegram, that 100 Japanese Nationals would be leaving that day, February 18th, for Rainbow

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and Lucerne camps. The OC, replied by telegram to Commissioner Wood saying Japanese Nationals were now unwilling to volunteer.

"...This undoubtedly due to recent Japanese military successes and the fact that six weeks yet to go before necessary for them to leave area STOP Chapleau incident aggravated the situation STOP Expect newspaper criticism because contingent not leaving tonite STOP Strongly urge date of evacuation Japanese be advanced to March first and furthermore severe penalties be inflicted for non compliance STOP As situation serious immediate action most imperative STOP" (5)

MacNamara brought his Minister, Mitchell, up to date with a memo on February 19th, in part:

"It might not be out of place to point out that at least five hundred of the Japanese Nationals undoubtedly would have been placed in Northern Ontario lumber camps had the Ontario Government not made objections to this move. ...

The Jasper-Blue River Highway project has been developed and men can be taken in very rapidly. The first hundred were ordered to leave Vancouver February 18th. ...

Unfortunately the Japanese Nationals are now taking the position that they have until April 1st to vacate and refuse to go voluntarily.

...

Until the recent military successes of the Japanese, the R.C.M.P. were assured of cooperation by the Japanese leaders, although there was agitation for resistance to the evacuation. Undoubtedly the refusal to accept the work, which developed yesterday, is largely due to a feeling that they are not wanted anywhere in Canada and wish to stay together, and they are not now ready to cooperate.

The immediate action would seem to be that the date April 1st should be advanced to, say, March 15th, ...

Decision of Minister needed

1. Date for evacuation be advanced from April 1st, 1942, to say, March 15th, 1942 ...

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2. *Manitoba is willing to use five hundred on Highway North of The Pas - Honourable Mr. Crerar approves. - Do you?*

3. *Proposal is to pay 'Japanese Nationals' in work camps 25¢ per hour less \$1.00 medical fee and they provide their own food.*

Earnings - \$52.00 month

Less food - 18.00(?)

Less medical fee 1.00

Net \$33.00 month

If married, he sends \$20.00 to wife. Order in Council says Minister of Labour may pay \$5.00 or less for each child up to five children. This may be a little high. Shall we try \$5.00 for first child and \$4.00 for next four?

4. ...

Canadians of Japanese Racial Origin.

An Order in Council creating a Canadian-Japanese Construction Corps was in the hands of Honourable Mr. McLarty and Honourable Mr. Mackenzie. Just as soon as the Order in Council is through it is planned to proceed with the organization of the Corps." (4)

On February 19th, Cabinet passed Order-In-Council P.C.1348 which authorized the establishment of work camps for male enemy aliens outside the protected area to be established and supervised by the Mines and Resources Department, with the Department of Labour allocating the enemy aliens to the various work camps. The Order-In-Council also established the work day at eight hours and the work week at forty-eight, and authorized the Minister of Labour to set other working conditions. (4) (see Appendix Chapter 1, 6., for complete text)

In reply to MacNamara's letter of the 14th concerning at least three projects to absorb all the Japanese who would be involved in work projects including those who would be involved in the "Canadian Japanese Construction Corps", Wardle's reply on the 19th suggested the Hope-Princeton and the Sicamous-Revelstoke Highways among others. These two highway projects were to

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assume importance as the scope of the removal of Japanese males was widened in the days to come. (9) (see Appendix Chapter 1, 7., for complete text)

F.J.Mead, Ass't. Commissioner RCMP, sent a letter to Wood on February 21st in which he advised him that the first 100 men would be leaving for the Jasper district on Monday the 23rd, to be followed by another 100 the next day and that other lists of 100 were being prepared. This prompted Wood to send a letter to Ian Mackenzie to advise him of the movement of the Japanese Nationals and to comment "*that the interior of British Columbia is still under several feet of snow and winter conditions prevail*". (5)

On the 24th, J.H.McVety, Regional Superintendent, UIC, Vancouver, advised MacNamara by telegram that voluntary movement was diminishing and that the Japanese advisors were advocating internment if men declined the offer of employment. (5)

The same day, "The N.C." printed the following:

***"Alien Evacuation to Rockies Gets Under Way
100 Due at Rainbow, Lucerne Noon Today
Further Movements This Week***

About noon today 100 Japanese Nationals disembarked from two Canadian National Coaches at Rainbow and Lucerne today deep in the snows of the Canadian Rockies - vanguard of some 1700 who will be removed from the coast and be placed on federal road projects for the duration.

Tonight they will be housed in railway cars on sidings, and as soon as equipment is on hand, and weather conditions permit, construction of bunkhouses for hundreds to follow will begin.

The men pulled out Monday night at 7:15 from the CN station, cheerfully waving and shouting good-bye to the 350 people who crowded the platform to see them off.

There were no tears, no last minute osculation. Rather there were formal bows, formal thanks, formal good-byes, which masked

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both the pain of separation and the wonder of what lay before them.

A large number are expected to leave for Geikie, Alta. just off the provincial boundary, and additional groups will leave during the week.

In the meantime, individuals chiefly married men who wish to remain with their families are moving outside of the protected area.

About half the men who left last night were married, and although they ranged in age from 18 to 45, they tended to the lower limit, rather than the upper. They were accompanied by two RCMP men in plain clothes.

As each man entered the car, one for Lucerne and the other for Rainbow, bearing grip, packages, boots, he was checked off by an RCMP official. They had all been provided with tickets and credentials before leaving home and had checked the bulk of their baggage - trunks, clothes bags, 'kori' (Japanese wicker trunk) and suitcases. Previous to leaving many had spent up to \$100 investing in suitable clothing for work outdoors under all weather conditions.

Pay Own Board

They will be paid 25¢ per hour, from which they must pay their own board. If married, they are required to assign \$20 per month for the support of their wives. Camps will be run on the familiar co-operative basis.

R.C.M.P. officials said that the men were all 'volunteers', and included for the most part men who had worked outdoors. Later groups will contain larger numbers of 'white collar' workers.

Tools and equipment are already rolling out of Vancouver destined for Japanese road camps in the interior, F.H.Harrison, provincial purchasing agent said Monday in Victoria.

'Stores in our Vancouver warehouses are being rapidly depleted, as cots, shovels, and equipment of all kinds are being sent inland. Lumber for camp accommodations had been ordered from nearby mills. Surveying equipment is being rushed to Kamloops, where it will be distributed,' he said.

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Business Booms as Remoovies Rush for Working Woolies by I.N.

'But I don't think he'll like these. My brother's fussy. They look warm enough. But the color! Why they're purple!' And the petite young lady of perhaps fifteen, turned up a pretty nose at the pair of woollen socks presented by a harried clerk.

But others weren't so particular. And all along Powell Street where business had once slackened almost to a standstill prior to the Government demanding evacuation of Japanese nationals buyers were crowding into stores.

'Almost,' said one energetic salesman, 'like a Christmas rush.'

Yet not all Stores

The larger department stores, the shoe stores, drug stores - all those dealing in men's work clothing and travel necessities were doing a rushing trade - while the hardwares, the bookstores, the florists, the women's departments were fortunate to sight a single, solitary customer.

Warm Clothing

With anywhere up to 500 having received evacuation notices to head for colder climates the first demand was warmer clothing. Nobody wanted frills. Nothing swanky. Dress suits and hats, smart looking pants, dress gloves, ties -though greatly reduced - were strictly 'no dice.'

'What do I care what it looks like?' growled one husky fellow, one arm already loaded down with 'tin' pants, clothes bag, a sweat shirt and blankets, while fingering a suit of woollen underwear. 'I'm not going to any tea-party.'

Woollen underwear, work socks, work shirts, boots, mittens and sweaters headed the list. Next came blankets, baggage, 'tin' pants, coats and pants, helmets, rubber boots, shaving needs, soap containers, toothbrushes

'Oka-asan (mother), look at these!' exclaimed an over-curious small boy as he poked at a bundle of enormous dun-coloured stockings. 'Nobody's got feet that big, ne (eh) oka-asan?' and pulling at his mother's coat, he looked at them with wide

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disbelieving eyes. 'But they're buying them now, all the same,' smiled the clerk as he handed the lady her parcels and change.

Tough Sledding

With jobs lost as the result of the war, many Japanese families, their resources slowly dribbling down the drain, were finding it tough sledding to find the extra dollars necessary to pay for their future needs, but the stores were helping out. Prices were reduced. And as one young proprietor put it, 'A lot of trade but not much profit. But we're all in the same boat.'

Strangely enough photographers were still doing an encouraging trade. The men wanted pictures of their wives, their children, their homes. They did not expect to see them for some time."

The following day, "The N.C." reported:

"Ottawa May Announce Total Removal Policy

Order-in-Council Authorizes Step

Rapid Speed-up in Evacuation

Ottawa, Feb.25. - Daily Province staff correspondence here, Torchy Anderson, said in a report at noon today that a decision to remove all persons of Japanese origin from the protected area MAY be announced this afternoon in the House of Commons.

A radical change in the government's policy, and a very rapid speed-up in evacuation of Japanese Canadians from west of the Cascade Mountains is expected to be announced.

A new order-in-council (Author's note: PC 1486.) has been passed which gives the minister of justice the right to exclude 'any or all persons, regardless of their citizenship, from protected areas.' This amendment to the Defence of Canada regulations will be tabled in the House today.

The new order will apply specifically to the protected area in BC. In addition to excluding persons of Japanese origin from the sea, the minister may impose restrictions regarding business, employment, movements and place of residence. He can prohibit and restrict use and possession of specified articles and require their delivery to the RCMP."

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The next day, February 26th, "The N.C." confirmed the Province story:

"Move All Japanese Ultimate Government Plan

Ottawa. - Naturalized and Canadian-born Japanese will be removed from the British Columbia protected area as well as Japanese nationals, Labour Minister Humphrey Mitchell told a press conference Wednesday night.

Ultimately, the minister said, the government intended to move every person of Japanese origin, male and female, and of all ages from the protected area."

Another story on the same page dealt with the Construction Corps:

"Workers in Construction Corps to Receive Dollar Per Day

Ottawa. - Formation of a Japanese Construction Corps for employment in war-time projects 'within or without' Canada was announced Wednesday by Prime Minister King.

Basic pay of the corps will be \$1 per day with dependent allowances at the rate of 50 percent allowed to armed forces with a bonus at the end of the war of \$2 for every month served. Enlistment in the corps is for the duration."

Despite the thoughts of a few politicians that a Construction Corps would allow the most effective use of Canadian-born and naturalized Japanese Canadians in Canada's war effort, the passage of Order-in-Council PC 1486 on February 24, which effectively stigmatized all persons of Japanese ancestry as enemy aliens, signalled the death knell of the Construction Corps. This was pretty well outlined by McVety in a letter to MacNamara on the 11th of March. It is evident from the letter that Taylor did not hold the Japanese Canadians who might have volunteered for the Corps in much regard, his remark "that the only uniforms that should be provided were overalls" certainly showed his attitude towards the people whose future was in his control. (6) (see Appendix Chapter 1, 8., for complete text)

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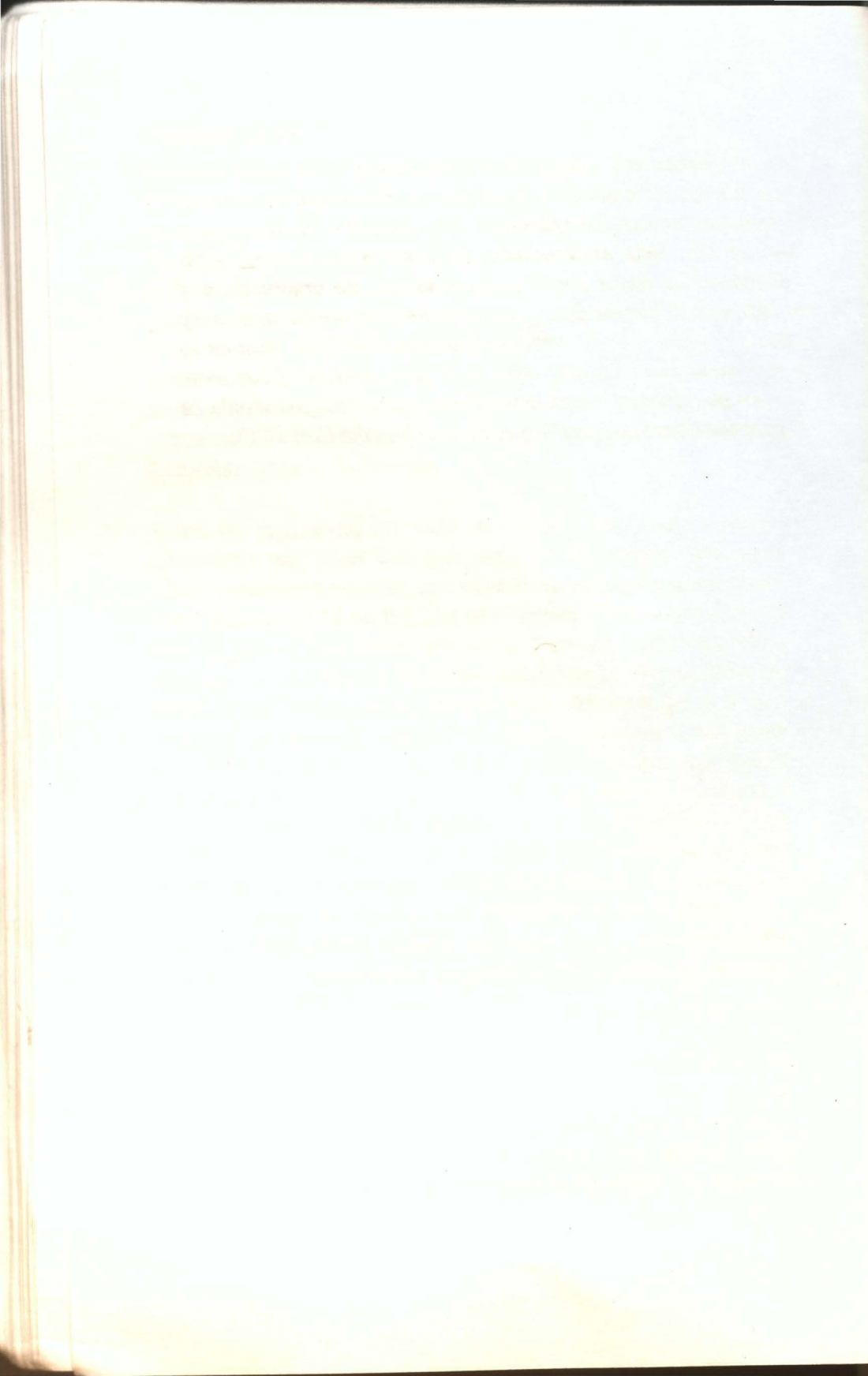
Any thoughts of differences in treatment for the 13,309 Canadian-born and 2,930 naturalized Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were dashed and government plans began to be developed for Japanese Canadian men to be placed in separate road camps from the Japanese Nationals and the women and children somewhere outside the protected area. PC 1486 finally accomplished for the racist BC politicians and other vested interests on the BC coast, the first phase of what they wanted, an eventual total exile from Canada of this hated minority community which numbered only 22,096 or 2.7% of the population of British Columbia. (11)

When we read about PC 1486 in Victoria, the whole Japanese community was upset and concerned for the future. When and where would we be moved, and what about our possessions? Since I had just turned 18 on the 21st of February, I knew that I would have to go to a road camp somewhere. I can remember that I was so disgusted and angry with all the anti-Japanese rhetoric from the people of BC that I said to myself "*when I have to go to a road camp the farther away from BC the better*". However, I was in my last year in High School, and I wanted to get my Junior Matriculation. When removal from Victoria was set for April, I asked, through the High School, for a postponement of my removal so that I could finish my Grade XII. Parents of my good friend and fellow newspaper-seller, Dave Burnett, allowed me to live with them, but about a week after most of the Japanese were removed from greater Victoria on April 22nd, I was told by the Principal that I had to leave. I reported to the RCMP, and was sent to Hastings Park in Vancouver.

One of the few, very senior federal officials involved in the evacuation, who was concerned about the treatment of the Japanese was Commissioner Wood. On March 2nd, he wrote to the OC, RCMP, Vancouver, and warned him against being accused of harsh and illegal methods in handling the Japanese evacuation, in part:

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" ... I am particularly anxious that there should be no justification in the future for the accusation against the Force that members of the Japanese race or their families have been left without adequate provision for their maintenance. It is essential that no great hardship should result, due to police action. ... the organization of the Japanese Volunteer Corps has some undesirable features in my opinion, that anyone who volunteers to join this Corps must do so for the duration of the war. Unless British subjects of Japanese race are permitted to resign at will from this Corps, you should be very careful about advising any of them to join the Corps." (5)



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APPENDIX CHAPTER 1

1. MEETING TO CONSIDER QUESTIONS CONCERNED
WITH CANADIAN JAPANESE AND JAPANESE
NATIONALS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
JANUARY 8TH. 2:30 P.M., ROOM 123
EAST BLOCK

AGENDA

1. Opening statement by the Honourable Ian Mackenzie

A. A statement of the purpose of the meeting.

B. A description of the peculiar position of the Japanese population in Canada which is unlike that of the German and Italian populations in several ways:-

I. The Japanese are concentrated in one province in proximity to a theatre of war.

II. There are probably no strong elements among the Japanese population hostile to the present Government of Japan.

III. The tendency of the Canadian public to identify race and Japanese nationality.

IV. The widespread belief in Canada that Japanese loyalties are racial rather than national.

V. The intense economic jealousy of the Japanese and a wish in some quarters to appropriate their property.

VI. Existing political and economical disabilities of persons of Japanese race.

VII. The somewhat similar position of persons of Chinese and East Indian race.

VIII. The analogy of Japanese in United States.

IX. The absence of any long range Canadian policy with respect to the future of the Japanese population in Canada.

2. Background of the problem. Statement by Mr. Keenleyside

1937 Interdepartmental committee

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1938 Board of Review

1940 Investigation by Special Committee

1941 Reregistration; collection of firearms; appointment of Standing Committee.

3. Basic principles on which Canadian policy has been and should be based.

(a) The primacy of defence considerations.

(b) In so far as is compatible with (a) Just and decent treatment for Canadians of Japanese race.

(c) In so far as is compatible with (a) the continuation in their normal employments of Japanese nationals resident in Canada.

(d) The coordination of Canadian and United States policies.

(e) The maintenance of a reasonable attitude among the civilian population and the use of full force of the law to prevent anti-Japanese demonstrations and to protect Japanese Canadian communities.

(f) Avoidance of actions which will lead to retaliation against Canadians under Japanese control.

4. Report on the activities on the Standing Committee by his Worship Mayor Hume

(i) Prewar.

(ii) Since the declaration of war.

5. Report on the existing situation by Assistant Commissioner F.J.Mead

6. Discussion of general principles set out in 3

7. The application of general principles to specific problems

(a) Fishing boats and fishing licences

(1) What restrictions are imperative in the interest of national defence?

(2) If some Canadian Japanese are allowed to fish what supervision is adequate in the interests of national defence?

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(3) What methods can be used to reassure the public as to the adequacy of precaution?

(4) Should our policy be influenced by the importance of not playing Japan's game which is to excite race hatreds?

(5) What measures are needed to maintain the efficiency of the fishing industry, - for instance to enable Canada to carry out arrangements for the sale of vitamins from dogfish liver oil to the United Kingdom at agreed prices?

(6) How can fishermen of Japanese race who are excluded from fishing best be employed in the interests of Canada's war effort?

(7) How can fishermen of Japanese race be replaced with least damage to Canada's war effort?

(8) What measures, if any should be taken to assure fishermen who are displaced of the just protection of their economic interests which will include compensation for their boats and an assurance of ability to resume their normal occupation after the war?

(b) Gasoline

(1) Should the sale of gasoline in bulk to Japanese nationals and its storage by them be prohibited or controlled?

(2) Should such sales to Japanese Canadians be prohibited or controlled?

(3) If these measures result in putting men out of employment to what activities should they be directed?

(c) Blasting powder

(1) Somewhat similar questions are raised with reference to blasting powder.

(d) Japanese language newspapers

(1) Should the suspension of Japanese language newspapers be continued or not?

(e) Should possession of receiving sets, cameras, by Japanese, etc., be controlled?

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8. Should consideration be given now to the position which Canadians of Japanese race should be expected to occupy in Canada during and after the war?

9. Should similar consideration be given now to the position of Canadians of Chinese and East Indian race?

10. Is the general policy with respect to Japanese nationals satisfactory?

11. Censorship problems

12. Other problems

13. How can any general policy which may be adopted as the result of recommendations made at this meeting, best be made known to the public of Canada in order to insure their intelligent cooperation?

(a) Declarations by Ministers of the Crown.

(b) Radio addresses (for instance an account of the deliberations of this meeting).

(c) The Press.

(d) Informal approach to local Government officials and others.

(e) Action with respect to groups promoting race panic for ulterior purposes." (1)

2. SECRET

January 10, 1942.

CONFERENCE ON THE

JAPANESE PROBLEM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

January 8 - 9, 1942, Ottawa

MINUTES

I. The meetings took place in Room 123 of the East Block of the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa. Three meetings were held: the first meeting from 2.30 p.m. to 6 p.m. on January 8; the second from

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9.30 a.m. to 12 noon on January 9; the third from 3 p.m. to 4.15 p.m. on January 9.

II. The following participated in the Conference:

x The Honourable Ian Mackenzie,
Minister of Pensions and National Health. **CHAIRMAN**

The Honourable J.E. Michaud
Minister of Fisheries

x The Honourable G.S. Pearson,
Minister of Labour, and
Provincial Secretary of British Columbia.

Standing Committee on Orientals in British Columbia

x F.J. Hume, -Chairman, and Mayor of New
Westminster, B.C.

H.F. Angus, -Special Assistant to the Under
Secretary of State for External
Affairs.

x F.J. Mead, -Member of Special Committee
on Orientals in British Columbia
(1940); and Assistant
Commissioner, Royal Canadian
Mounted Police.

x Lieut.-Col. Macgregor Mackintosh,

x Lieut.-Col. A.W. Sparling, -Chairman, Special Committee
(1940).

x Sergeant J.K. Barnes, -R.C.M.P. Secretary.

x N.A. Robertson,
(first meeting only) -Under Secretary of State for
External Affairs

J.E. Read, -Legal Adviser, Department of
External Affairs.

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- | | |
|---|---|
| x H.L.Keenleyside, | -Chairman, Board of Review (1938). |
| | -Member,Special Committee (1940) |
| | -Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs. |
| Escott Reid | -Department of External Affairs. |
| Major-General L.R.LaFleche (second meeting only) | -Associate Deputy Minister of National War Services. |
| x Brigadier S.T.Wood, (first meeting only) | -Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police |
| x T.W.S.Parsons, | -Commissioner, British Columbia Provincial Police. |
| x Commodore H.E.Reid, | -Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff. |
| x Commander J.McCullough | -Officer in Charge of Auxiliary Vessels, Pacific Coast. |
| x Paymaster Lieut.- Commander R.Pennington (first meeting only) | -Secretary of the Deputy Chief of the Naval Staff. |
| x Commander E.Johnstone | -Assistant Director of Naval Personnel. |
| x Major-General Maurice Pope | -Vice Chief of the General Staff. |
| Lieut.-Col. J.E.Lyon, | -Acting Director of Military Operations and Intelligence. |
| x A.J.Whitmore, | -Director Western Fisheries, Department of Fisheries. |
| x W.J.Couper, | -Department of Labour. |
| R.W.Baldwin, | -Office of the Press Censor. |
| x Present or past resident of British Columbia. | (1) |

III.

Introductory Statements.

1. At the first meeting, the Chairman made an opening statement on the purpose of the Conference. He said that the Government had received numerous representations concerning the problem of persons of Japanese racial origin in British Columbia. One particularly important question was whether the fishing licences should be issued to persons of Japanese racial origin. The chief purpose of the meeting was to allay apprehension in British Columbia. This must, however, be done in such a way as to minimize the possibility of retaliation by the Japanese against Canadian prisoners of war and against the coast of British Columbia. The Chairman paid a tribute to the work done by the various committees appointed in the past few years and to the work of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

2. Mr. Angus pointed out in the sense of 1B of the Agenda the particular position of the Japanese population in Canada which is unlike that of the German or Italian population in several ways.

3. Mr. Keenleyside summarized the steps which had been taken by the Federal Government in recent years to deal with the problem. He went back to the riots in Vancouver in 1907, the subsequent establishment of the Japanese immigration quota which was gradually reduced until by 1930 it was limited to 150 persons of special categories. He pointed out that in recent years the quota had never been filled so that the problem, even before the outbreak of war with Japan, was not one of immigration but of working out satisfactory relations between the permanent Japanese residents of Canada and other residents of Canada. This had become more difficult ever since 1931 because of the constantly widening area of Japanese aggression. An Interdepartmental Committee under Dr. Skelton had been constituted in 1937 and in the following year a Board of Review had been set up to investigate illegal entries. The Board found that there were a very large number of illegal entrants in the early 20's, but that by 1933 very few illegal entrants remained in British Columbia, and that since the entry had been carefully controlled. Public opinion, however, in British Columbia remained disturbed, especially after Japan entered into an alliance with Germany and Italy in September, 1940. A Special

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Committee was therefore appointed on October 1 of that year. Mr. Keenleyside drew attention to its report which had been published in December, 1940, and especially to the summary and the recommendations. The recommendations had been approved of by the Canadian Government and had largely been the basis of the Government's actions since. Under recommendation 7 a registration had been made and under recommendation 8 a small Standing Committee had been set up in British Columbia under Mayor Hume to supervise the carrying out of those recommendations of the Committee which were adopted by the Government.

4. Mr. Keenleyside outlined in the sense of part 3 of the Agenda the basic principles on which Canadian policy has been and should be based. He drew particular attention to the fourth principle, "the coordination of Canadian and United States policies". He said that the Permanent Joint Board on Defence had recommended that the two governments should do their utmost to synchronize their policies since their problems were almost identical. He referred also to the statement made by the Prime Minister in his broadcast speech made on the day following the outbreak of war with Japan. A somewhat similar statement had been made by President Roosevelt in which the President had appealed to employers not to discriminate against aliens and foreign born citizens. He also referred to a statement by the Attorney General of the United States on the necessity of showing tolerance to enemy aliens resident in the United States. On the whole the actions taken against persons of Japanese origin, even in Hawaii, had been less rigorous than those taken by Canada.

5. Mayor Hume then reported on the activities of the Standing Committee which had been appointed almost exactly a year ago. He said that the Japanese had been re-registered and that while re-registration was being made a considerable number had left Canada. When war broke out with Japan the Committee recommended:

1. That Japanese newspapers be closed down. As a result of this recommendation the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

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espionage had been committed only by persons attached to the Consulates; there was in the United States no important demand that Japanese residents should be moved from the coast.

2. Mr. Whitmore of the Department of Fisheries stated that if fishing licences were refused to the Japanese he did not expect that there would be an influx of many new fishermen, though a few more Indians would probably take out fishing licences. The explanation of this was that in the past the fisheries had been overstaffed. If not enough fish were being caught, the Department could take steps to remedy the situation, as, for example, by reducing the weekly closed period or by permitting the use of a different type of fishing gear. He warned, however, that there would be a temporary local shortage of certain types of fish.

3. Mayor Hume reported that the Fishermen's Union had stated to him that they would guarantee that they could get the required amount of fish even if the Japanese were not issued licences and that the canneries had informed him that they could manage without Japanese in the canneries. The canners had also said that they would be willing to buy up the Japanese rights in the fishing boats. The Conference, however, agreed that it would be undesirable to permit the canneries to monopolize ownership of the fishing boats.

4. It was clear from reports by members of the Conference who had recently come from British Columbia that a serious unemployment situation was being created in British Columbia among the population of Japanese origin. It was not merely a question of unemployed fishermen but persons of Japanese origin in British Columbia were also being dismissed from lumbering, gardening, and domestic service.

5. The members of the Conference who had just arrived from British Columbia found it difficult to accept the assurances of the representatives of the Armed Forces and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police that the measures which had already been taken in British Columbia or which were recommended by a majority of the members of the Conference would be sufficient to meet the needs of national defence and security. Most of them stated that they did not trust persons of Japanese racial origin and that they

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suggested to the Japanese that this be done and the Japanese agreed.

2. That Japanese language schools be closed. This also was done by agreement.

3. That the Royal Canadian Mounted Police pick up disloyal Japanese.

4. That the Japanese fishing fleet be laid up.

The last three recommendations had been made effective. Mayor Hume concluded by saying that the public in British Columbia was demanding that the Japanese be removed from the coastal area.

6. Assistant Commissioner Mead of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police made a report on the existing situation. He said that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had received excellent co-operation from the leaders of the Japanese population. These leaders had cooperated in the registration and since the outbreak of the war with Japan had pointed out to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Japanese who should be interned as dangerous. As evidence of the excellent attitude of the Japanese population he read three paragraphs from an operative's report of a secret meeting of Japanese fishermen in Vancouver which had taken place recently. The fishermen at the meeting had stated that they realized that the seizure of the Japanese fishing fleet was inevitable under war conditions. Since the outbreak of the war it had been necessary to intern only one Japanese because of disloyal remarks.

IV. Discussion on general principles set out in Item 3 of the Agenda and discussions of the application of these general principles to specific problems as outlined in the Agenda.

A full and frank discussion took place at all three meetings of the Conference. The result of these discussions is embodied in the report of the Conference. The following matters of special interest were brought up in the discussion:

1. Commissioner Wood and Assistant Commissioner Mead of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police reported that they had recently been in touch with the Federal Bureau of Investigation who reported that the F.B.I. had received no evidence of disloyalty by the Japanese in the United States, Hawaii or the Philippines;

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considered the continued presence of these persons in British Columbia a menace to public safety. They emphasized particularly their fear that virtually all of these residents would commit positive acts of disloyalty if Japan should land forces in British Columbia. Even, however, if the assurances of the Armed Forces and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were accepted a serious situation would still continue to exist in British Columbia since it would be impossible to persuade the majority of the people of British Columbia that the Japanese residents did not constitute a menace. The people of British Columbia were definitely alarmed by the Japanese menace. There is a grave danger that anti-Japanese riots may break out and that it will be necessary to call out the troops to defend the Japanese residents from attack by other Canadians. The Assistant Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Police and the Commissioner of the British Columbia Provincial Police agreed that there was a distinct possibility of anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver and General Pope stated that General Alexander had reported to Defence Headquarters that public security in British Columbia may be endangered by the feeling of the white population against the Japanese.

6. Mr. Couper of the Department of Labour and other members of the Conference from Ottawa emphasized that if Canada was to make the utmost possible contribution to victory in the war it was necessary to make the most effective use of the abilities of all the residents of Canada including persons of Japanese racial origin. The members of the Conference from British Columbia found it difficult to believe that there was an impending labour shortage in Canada since they stated that there was considerable unemployment existing at the time in British Columbia .

7. This difference of opinion over the urgency of the manpower problem in Canada was in part the reason for the difference of opinion between members of the Conference over whether it would be useful and desirable to impress on employers and labour alike throughout Canada the importance, from the point of view of the national war effort, of not discharging or refusing to hire or refusing to work with persons of Japanese origin. Members from British Columbia stated that the public in British Columbia was so

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convinced that the Japanese were untrustworthy and constituted a menace that white workmen would refuse to work with workmen of Japanese racial origin in spite of any appeal that the Government might make.

8. The possibility of Japan using Canadian treatment of Japanese as an excuse for retaliation against Canadians and other allied nationals under Japanese control was discussed at some length. Mr. J.E.Read, Legal Adviser to the Department of External Affairs, pointed out that Japan was not bound by the Hague Convention and that Canadian prisoners therefore did not, therefore, have the protection of that Convention. Apart, however, from the Convention, the experience of the war hitherto was that both sides gave to prisoners of the other, treatment which was pretty well equivalent to the treatment which their own nationals were being given. If Japan believed that Canada was mistreating Japanese nationals it would probably retaliate, not only against Canadians but against other British subjects and nationals of other of the United Nations. Mr. Keenleyside pointed out that the Commonwealth Governments had tried to follow a common policy of treatment of enemy nationals and that should the Canadian Government decide in favour of a policy of wholesale internment of Japanese nationals, the Government, before taking such action, would probably consult with the Government of the United Kingdom. He felt that it was likely that the Government of the United Kingdom would urge Canada not to take such action. Japanese nationals in Canada constituted the largest group of Japanese nationals in the British Commonwealth and it was in the interests of the whole Commonwealth that Japanese nationals in Canada should be made use of to the greatest possible extent in order to secure good treatment for British nationals who fall into Japanese hands.

9. At the request of Mr. R.W. Baldwin of the Office of the Press Censor it was agreed that a Standing Subcommittee of the Conference should be established with which Press Censorship could consult. This Committee would consist of Mr. Angus and of a member nominated by the Defence Departments.

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10. The members of the Conference agreed that no publicity should be given to the Proceedings or recommendations of the Conference until the Government had dealt with the Conference's recommendations. Mr. Ian Mackenzie stated that he would arrange that they should be dealt with by Cabinet on Monday or Tuesday, January 12 or 13.

11. During the course of the discussions telegrams and letters were read to the Conference from various associations and individuals in British Columbia. Some of these communications were addressed to the Prime Minister, others to individual members of the Conference.

12. While the proposal to move all persons of Japanese racial origin from the Pacific coast was dropped by general agreement, the British Columbia representatives demanded that able bodied adult male Japanese nationals should be removed. They appeared to be willing to make an exception for those whose applications for naturalization under section 8 of the Naturalization Act were outstanding. In making this demand they emphasized that in their opinion it was the minimum necessary to satisfy the people of British Columbia and prevent riots and it was pointed out that the assurances of the Armed Forces and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police did not extend to denying the dangers of anti-Japanese rioting.

13. At the conclusion of the Conference, when it was clear that the Conference could not agree unanimously on measures which should be taken to control Japanese nationals in British Columbia, Mr. Pearson, as representative of the government of British Columbia, stated that he wished to make it clear that if the Government of Canada ignores the views of the representatives of British Columbia they could not expect the Government of British Columbia to be enthusiastic or very effective in trying to "sell" the ideas supported by the Dominion Government to the people of British Columbia. In that event it would be necessary for the Government of Canada to try to sell their ideas to the people of British Columbia. The Government of Canada, however, could be assured that whatever decision it made, the Government of British

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Columbia would do their best to see that things go along peacefully in British Columbia.

14. At the conclusion of the meeting the Chairman, the Honourable Ian Mackenzie, thanked all the members of the Conference for their participation in its discussions. He thanked especially members of the Conference who had come all the way from British Columbia to attend. In reply Mayor Hume expressed the thanks of the British Columbia members to the other members of the Conference, especially to the Chairman and to Mr. Keenleyside and Mr. Angus. (1)

3.

Ottawa, January 21st, 1942.

Memorandum to: The Deputy Minister

From: H.H.

"re: Movement of Japanese from British Columbia Coast.

At a meeting held in the Minister's office this afternoon there were present Messrs. MacNamara, Mitchell and Tallon of the Unemployment Insurance Commission; the Deputy Minister of Labour; Mr. Hereford; and for part of the time Mr. Wardle, Director of Surveys and Engineering, Department of Mines and Resources. The Minister said the problem was to move as soon as possible what he described as the 'working group' Japanese, numbering about 4,000 from the coast. The question was raised as to whether there was to be any differentiation in the treatment between Canadian born or naturalized Japanese and enemy aliens. The Minister said they would all be treated alike in regard to movement and work. (*Author's note: The Minister's comment here is noteworthy, because it would be about a month, Feb. 24th, before P.C. 1486 authorized the Minister of Justice to order complete removal of all persons of Japanese ancestry from the 'Protected Area'.*)

After some general discussion the Deputy Minister summarized what had transpired as follows:-

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(a) Employment Service to be responsible for the selection of Japanese to be moved from coastal areas.

(b) Japanese to be moved to one or more points which would serve as working and clearing bases.

(c) As approved requests were made by Provinces, corporations, or individuals, Japanese could be released from camps for:

- (1) farm employment,
- (2) work in beet fields,
- (3) old logging camps,
- (4) road building gangs,

according to season.

The Deputy left the meeting at this time to attend another conference and discussion on the subject was discontinued until the arrival of Mr. Wardle. The Minister pointed out to Mr. Wardle that the matter under discussion was one of immediate camp accommodation for about 500 men, even if these men had to be put in a clearing camp pending the preparation of construction camps. Mr. Wardle pointed out that there were no road construction camps ready in British Columbia but that the possibility of a logging camp near Haney, BC might be investigated. (Mr. Wardle undertook to investigate and to notify the Minister as to this.) The Minister emphasized the desirability of immediate camp accommodation. Mr. Wardle suggested that on the Trans-Canada Highway section along the north shore of Lake Superior there were two camps with buildings complete, belonging to the Province of Ontario, that might be made available for Japanese workers. One of these camps is at Jackfish Bay, Ontario, and would accommodate 150, and by moving buildings available from a nearby camp it can provide accommodation for 300; and the other camp is six miles out of Schreiber, Ont., with passable road being available to it, which would accommodate 150 and can be arranged to accommodate 250.

The Minister and Mr. Tallon agreed that the wages should be 40¢ for married men and 25¢ for single men. The Minister mentioned that pending earning of pay by the Japanese workers, assistance would have to be given to their dependents.

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The Minister said that he would speak to the Minister of Justice with regard to the policing of the camps.

It was agreed that all Japanese in camps would be under strict camp regulations as to working hours, leaving camps, and so on.

The Minister stated that the charge for board would be \$1.00 a day and that they would provide all other requirements at their own expense.

(A single Japanese worker working eight hours a day, would earn \$2.00 a day or approximately \$52.00 a month. From this would be deducted 31 days board, \$31.00, plus a possible medical fee of \$1.00 a month, leaving the worker about \$21.00)

(Conscientious objectors working under similar conditions are paid 50¢ a day and their board, but they may get a further allowance for clothing in winter months.)

In reply to a question by Mr. Allan M. Mitchell, the Minister said that it was in his view that there would be an ordinary camp administration unit which would have charge of all operations, except the policing.

After the meeting in the Minister's office, Mr. Macnamara of the U.I.C. telegraphed to the U.I.C. office in Vancouver as follows:-

" The Minister of Labour has been studying the problem of providing work for Japanese which may involve moving them from the Coastal area. We understand they have all been registered and we desire you to contact the Mounted Police and examine registration records and wire us first the number of men for whom employment will have to be provided and second any information you can give in regard to their occupation and what they will be capable of doing such as how many are able to do bush work."

Mr. MacNamara also wired to the Assistant Deputy Minister of Public Works in Manitoba as follows:-

"How many huts have you in stock and where are they located. Are they in shape so that they could be moved and set up for a camp for housing Japanese."

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January 22nd, 1942.

Problems of Policy:-

1. The recent conference on the Japanese in British Columbia recommended, and presumably the Government approved the recommendation, that fundamentally different treatment should be extended to those Japanese nationals who may be required to move from the coastal area of British Columbia and those Canadian Nationals of Japanese origin who have volunteered to serve in civilian labour corps or in any other manner that would further the war effort. Presumably there is no legal authority for requiring the second group to move and the Minister may be under a very serious misapprehension when he says that all Japanese would be treated alike.

2. It is open to question whether for either of the two groups mentioned above there should be a difference in wage rates for married and single men. It would seem more reasonable to establish a system of pay and allowances patterned on the system in the armed forces or else to have a straight wage system under which all workers would be paid alike. The question also arises as to whether the basis of remuneration for Japanese nationals and Canadian nationals of Japanese origin should not be fundamentally different. It might be perfectly proper to pay Japanese nationals the same rate as Conscientious objectors, viz., 50¢ per day and board, while on the other hand Canadian nationals of Japanese origin should presumably be paid army rates of pay and allowances if in a civilian labour corps, or the prevailing wage rates in the communities in which they would otherwise be employed.

3. Consideration must also be given to whether only male Japanese are going to move or whether the families of those required to move shall be allowed to accompany them.

4. More attention should be paid to the possibility of placing both Canadian nationals of Japanese origin and those of the Japanese nationals who can be permitted liberty in private employment through the regular machinery of the employment service.

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5. There would appear to be a definite need for the clarification of the respective responsibility of the several departments concerned in the problem, namely, External Affairs, Justice, Labour, Mines and Resources, and perhaps National War Services. It may, in fact, be necessary to pass Orders in Council about such matters as the authorization of the establishment of the civilian labour corps and the granting of relief to dependents, etc. (4)

4.

January 27th, 1942.

Memorandum for file:

Mr. Hereford and Mr. A. MacNamara, of the Department of Labour, called in regard to the employment of Japanese in British Columbia. They stated that they did not think that efforts to place Japanese with private concerns would be very successful, and thought that they would have to depend chiefly on work camps.

Under the circumstances they thought we should have a discussion and get arrangements under way, as there was none too much time between now and April 1st, when the Japanese must be out of the prohibited coastal areas in British Columbia.

In reply to an enquiry, Mr. MacNamara stated that the present plan provided only for the removal of Japanese Nationals (born in Japan), and that the Canadian-born Japanese would not be required to move from the protected areas. Whether or not this was the proper course was not discussed. It was estimated there were 1700 Japanese Nationals between the ages of 18 and 45 (the military age limits) to be taken care of in camps.

Mr. Hereford and Mr. MacNamara asked if we could take these men on the Yellowhead-Blue River road, and which seemed to be the most promising project. I advised them we could absorb 1700 on this road without trouble in the summer months, but I could not promise just how much winter work might be available in view of the difficulty in opening up winter camps at this time of year. I also mentioned that it would cost considerable money.

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The Department of Labour officers then asked if we would begin immediate arrangements, including the selection of camps etc., so that 500 men could be accommodated at the earliest possible date. I asked if we could issue instructions that involved expenditure, and both officers thought this should be done, as there seemed no other course open.

I asked what should be done in Ontario camps, and Mr. Hereford and Mr. MacNamara said these camps on Lake Superior would likely be required also. They thought that it would be safe to ask the Province of Ontario to get the existing camps ready. They stated that the matter of wages was not yet definitely settled. I strongly recommended that a letter be sent to Premier Hart of British Columbia, by someone with Ministerial authority, advising of the tentative plans, so that the British Columbia Government would not think the Dominion were assuming too much in making arrangements for the Yellowhead-Blue River road project. I advised the officers that I thought for the present we should try and limit the work to the Jasper Park-Yellowhead-Tete Jaune section, as at the latter point the route forked, one going towards Prince George, and one towards Blue River and Kamloops. Both Prince George and Kamloops would likely want work done on their sections, and if we kept the work east of Tete Jaune no choice would have to be made. In any case, such choice would be the responsibility of the Provincial Government of British Columbia. I told both officers that I could not do much more without the formal approval of my Minister, and if the Department of Labour wished this Branch to operate the work camps, the Minister of Labour should send a formal letter to our Minister, outlining the situation and making the request. They said the letter would be immediately prepared for Mr. Mitchell's signature.

In regard to Ontario, Mr. MacNamara said a meeting was being held in Toronto today, to discuss the use of Japanese in Ontario, and thought we would hear something of the decisions reached. I told him the Highway Department of Ontario had promised complete co-operation, but in view of the meeting being held I was averse to asking that Department to begin work on the camps until we had heard what was decided upon.

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Following the above discussion, a meeting was held with Messrs. Pounder, Mills, and Stinson, and various matters were discussed. As a result, a telegram was sent by Mr. Mills to Mr. Walker, and from the undersigned to Mr. Dixon.

January 28th, 1942.

This morning Mr. MacNamara phoned me again and said that he was now advised that the number of Japanese Nationals would be about twice the number discussed yesterday, namely around 3400. He asked if I had heard anything from Toronto, and I advised him I had not. He said he had received a request from the Kamloops Board of Trade for the Japanese to be placed at work on the Northern Trans-Provincial Highway between Blue River and Valemount. I explained to Mr. MacNamara that this section would be south of Tete Jaune, and thought that any work done between Yellowhead and Tete Jaune would benefit this route.

J.M.W. (4)

5. DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

No. 638-1-1-12

F.D. 508

HEADQUARTERS PACIFIC COMMAND
VICTORIA, B.C.

29th January, 1942.

SECRET

Director Military Operations & Intelligence,
National Defence Headquarters,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Attention: M.I. 1

re: Japanese Situation

1. The following is included in the Weekly Intelligence Summary which is to be forwarded at the end of the week but it is

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felt that the importance of the information warrants that it be forwarded immediately.

2. The following newspaper reports indicating that it was the intention of the Dominion Government to remove all enemy aliens from the Pacific Coast, there appeared to be an excellent reaction on the B.C. Coast in regard to the Japanese situation; the anxiety that had been felt was to a considerable extent alleviated. It now appears that this good effect has been more than counteracted by the fact that no further action appears to have been taken nor plans prepared. Feeling is said to have been running high prior to the receipt of the news as published by the daily papers. Reports indicate that feeling is beginning to run even higher due to lack of action. " We do not want another Pearl Harbour here, and however slight the Government may consider the risk to be, it has not the right to force the risk on us," seems to be common talk here.

3. I am also informed that the attitude of the Japanese is bordering on the insolent and that their reaction is that the people of B.C. are hysterical and that the Government is being forced to act in a manner contrary to its own policy; that the Government intends to do nothing further; that the Japanese will be out fishing this season and that the Government is backing the Japanese against the white population and that therefore the Japanese have nothing to fear.

4. There is a considerable discontent and resentment among the white population at this apparent inaction. In proof of this I am given to understand that there is an organization in B.C. which is rapidly gathering support, whose idea is to urge B.C. citizens to subscribe to the limit of its ability to the forthcoming loan but to withhold payment until such time as every Japanese irrespective of age, of sex or place of birth has been removed east of the Rockies.

5. I am informed that the aims of this organization are to be publicised in the newspapers on Monday, 2nd February.

(Sgd.) H.C. Bray, Major,
G.S.O. 2, Intelligence.
Pacific Command. (8)

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(Author's note: this is probably the message referred to by Adachi, in his book "THE ENEMY THAT NEVER WAS." p. 204.)

6.

- COPY -

P.C. 1348

Privy Council
Canada

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

THURSDAY, the 19th day of February, 1942

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

WHEREAS, under authority of the Defence of Canada Regulations (Consolidation) 1941 as amended by Order in Council P.C. 365 dated January 16, 1942, a protected area has been established in British Columbia;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed to be in the interest of national security that certain male enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals be removed from said area and employed in other localities.

NOW THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Mines and Resources and under the authority of the War Measures Act, Chapter 206 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, is pleased to order and doth hereby order as follows:

The Minister of Mines and Resources is hereby authorized to establish work camps for male enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals, on projects located outside of protected areas, that would be of national benefit and to make necessary arrangements

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for the maintenance, care, and employment of said aliens, including Japanese Nationals, who may be allocated to such camps by the Minister of Labour, and for the supervision of the work to be there undertaken;

The projects shall be such as approved by the Minister of Labour from time to time, with the concurrence of the Minister of Mines and Resources, and, the Minister of Labour may upon such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon enter into agreements with any of the provinces or any corporation or individual in respect to the employment of said enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals, on any other projects approved by the Minister of Labour with the concurrence of the Minister of Mines and Resources;

The remuneration of the said aliens, including Japanese Nationals, shall be on the basis of an eight-hour working day and a forty-eight hour week at 25¢ per hour for unskilled labour and the Minister of Labour shall have authority to make regulations, as required from time to time, in respect to wage schedules, hours of labour, medical inspection and to the extent of medical care, hospitalization, unemployment insurance contributions and workmen's compensation benefits which shall be available to enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals, when employed on the work projects of which he has approved; (*)

[() Author's note, this Order-in-Council was amended by P.C.6758 on 31/7/42 which inserted "or when employed by the British Columbia Security Commission anywhere in Canada" and "such amendment to be retroactive in effect to and including February 19th, 1942."]*

The said aliens, including Japanese Nationals, employed under authority of this order who have dependents resident in Canada shall be required to assign twenty dollars from their monthly earnings for the maintenance of the said dependents and the Dominion, upon approval of the Minister of Labour, may pay in addition an allowance of not more than five dollars a month for each dependent child of an employed alien but such payments shall not be made in respect of more than five dependent children in any one family;

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The said enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals, when employed as aforesaid shall be deemed to be employees within the meaning of that term as defined in the Government Employees Compensation Act for all purposes other than the payment of compensation for temporary disability, but allowing in all temporary disability cases necessary first aid, medical and hospitalization expenses and in all other cases compensation not in excess of two thirds of the average weekly earnings of the employee regardless of any minimum rate of compensation, statutory or otherwise, which may be in effect in any province at any time;

The Minister of Labour is hereby authorized to make such arrangements with the Minister of Justice as may be necessary from time to time to ensure proper conduct and control of enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals, employed as aforesaid outside the aforementioned protected area;

Any expenditures incurred in connection with the aforementioned removal, maintenance, care, and employment of the said enemy aliens, including Japanese Nationals, shall be met from funds provided from time to time from the War Appropriation Vote.

(Sgd.) A.D.P. Heeney,

Clerk of the Privy Council. (4)

7. *(Following is a copy of a Mines and Resources letter.)*

Office of the Director

Ottawa, Ontario.

February 19, 1942.

Dear Mr. MacNamara:

Replying to your letter of the 14th instant we should be able to employ from 1800 to 2000 Japanese Nationals on the Yellowhead-Blue River road. A choice for an additional work

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project or two, might be made from the following list of projects which seem suitable:

Hope-Princeton Highway,
Cedarville to Terrace Highway (part of road to Prince Rupert),
Sicamous-Revelstoke Highway (widening and improvement)
Tete Jaune-McBride-Prince George Highway,
Nelson-Nelway Highway (revision and improvement)

I have discussed these with Mr. Arthur Dixon, Deputy Minister of Public Works for British Columbia, this morning and they are listed in the order of preference that he would give them.

The Hope-Princeton Highway has the advantage of being away from the railroad but there is too much snow there at the present time to open up work. It would be a good project to bear in mind for commencing late in April or early May.

The Cedarville-Terrace road is not a very large project but it is just east of the protected area in British Columbia so it would be satisfactory for Japanese Nationals from that standpoint.

In so far as employing men of the Canadian Japanese Construction Corps, an eastern section of the Terrace-Prince Rupert Highway would seem suitable for them as soon as snow conditions permit. It is not possible to scatter a large force along this project as the road is not located very far west of Terrace and there is a very important question to be decided as to which side of the Skeena River the road should follow.

If we are charged with the responsibility of building this road, location survey parties will be placed on it as quickly as possible.

Most of the projects listed would be suitable for Canadian Nationals, although the Nelson-Nelway Highway and the Terrace-Cedarville Highway would not employ more than 100 or 200 men each.

Perhaps at your convenience you would let me have your views in regard to these various projects.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd) J.M. Wardle
Director

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8. CONFIDENTIAL

425 Howe Street,
Vancouver, B.C.
March 11, 1942.

Air Mail

Dear Mr. MacNamara:

I have your letter of February 27th with reference to the Canadian Japanese Construction Corps.

Until the Government passed the various Orders putting all Japanese in the same category insofar as restrictions are concerned, those of Canadian birth considered themselves superior to the others and acted accordingly. The Canadian-born Japanese who have been assisting the police in directing the movement of the others immediately lost their standing and had to go into hiding for fear or violence.

Any idea that a good psychological effect would be produced by creating a Construction Corps of Canadian-born Japanese may, I think, now be forgotten. The hostility against the Government is now greater among the Canadian-born Japanese than among the Nationals, owing to the fact that the Orders have caused them to "lose face".

I do not see any point in the thought you express that by enrolling Canadian-born Japanese in the Corps for the duration of the war there would be any loss of opportunity for normal employment. The fact is only a small number of employers out of the protected area are prepared to employ Japanese, and they are likely to be intimidated by labour organizations, branches of the Canadian Legion, and other employers and citizens generally who have no employment for Japanese and fear their competition.

I discussed this matter with Major Austin Taylor and he, like the writer, had an idea that those who enlisted in a Construction Corps were to be provided with uniforms. He was of the opinion, which he asked me to express in his behalf in reply to your wire to him, that the only uniforms that should be provided were overalls. Otherwise he had no recommendations to make at this time, but he agreed that any psychological advantages which appeared earlier had been eliminated by the recent Orders.

PROLOGUE

I think your idea of a work project for Canadian-born Japanese on the same basis as that provided for the Japanese nationals would be a most satisfactory method of handling the situation now, keeping the two groups fairly widely separated.

This would take them into fairly remote areas where little or no damage could be done and at the same time get some useful work out of them.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) Jas. H. McVety
Regional Superintendent.
PACIFIC REGION. (6)

I have been told of a great project for the construction of a new bridge to the west bank of the river. It is a very important project and it is hoped that it will be completed in the near future. The bridge will be a great help to the people who live on the west bank and it will also be a great help to the people who live on the east bank.

The bridge will be a great help to the people who live on the west bank and it will also be a great help to the people who live on the east bank. It will be a great help to the people who live on the west bank and it will also be a great help to the people who live on the east bank.

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CHAPTER 2

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP (NMEG)

CHAPTER 2

THE NEW MASS EVALUATION
(1990)

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

No history of the exile of the Japanese from the protected area of the province of British Columbia would be complete without the story of those Nisei who waged a futile battle against the Dominion Government's policy of the separation of married men from their families. Despite recommendation #2 of the Conference endorsements of the meetings of January 8 and 9, which recommended the removal in family units where possible, the authorities in charge of removing the able-bodied Japanese males from the protected area appear to have given it no consideration at all. The whole focus of the authorities was on the immediate removal of the male Japanese Nationals in the 18 - 45 age group. None of them could foresee or imagine, the turmoil and heart-break which would arise when husbands were separated from their wives and children.

The Japanese Nationals initially accepted their lot as one of the exigencies of war, thinking that separation was a temporary situation and that they would shortly be re-united as family groups near the road camps, or some other location. However, when the announcement was made on February 26th to remove everyone of Japanese ancestry from the protected area, and the British Columbia Security Commission was formed on March 4th, to carry out this policy, the Japanese community was shocked, bitter, and then resigned to the inevitability of total removal from the protected area. However, one concern was uppermost in the minds of everyone in the Community, and that was the issue of their removal in family units. Adachi covers this time period and the formation of the NMEG in his book, in CHAPTER TEN, Scapegoats and Victims. (12)

The action which was to precipitate the formation of the NMEG, was the proposal by the British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) to ship Nisei and naturalized Japanese to Ontario road camps. The BCSC, formed by the Dominion Government, "to plan, supervise and direct" the evacuation, consisted of a Vancouver industrialist, Austin Taylor, who was appointed the chairman; F.J.Mead, an Assistant Commissioner of the RCMP; and the Assistant Commissioner of the Provincial Police, John Shirras. It quickly became evident to the Japanese community that

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evacuation in family units was a policy which was not a priority with the BCSC and there were only two courses of action open to most of the families; co-operate with the Commission or resist. However, there was another option open to those with the financial resources, although there were not too many families in this fortunate situation - - voluntary evacuation in family units to self-supporting projects beyond the protected area, at the family's own expense.

A group of Nisei who were members of the Japanese Canadian Citizens Council (JCCC) broke away from the main group, under the leadership of Fuji Tanaka, when it became evident that the JCCC was adopting a policy of co-operation with the Commission. The break came, when on the 25th of March, the Commission issued an order *"instructing all men to report to the RCMP barracks under pain of a penalty of a \$500 fine and one year of imprisonment"*. The JCCC, realizing that the Commission was not going to be deterred from its single-minded purpose of immediate evacuation of all able-bodied male Japanese to the road camps in British Columbia or Ontario, took the position that co-operation was the only reasonable course of action to take, given the stated intention of the Commission to intern those who resisted. The response of the NMEG to Taylor was, *"We have said YES to all your previous orders, however unreasonable they might have seemed. But are firm in saying NO to your last order which calls for breakup of our families"*. As men were ordered to report for road camps and refused, the RCMP rounded up the resisters and detained them in the Immigration Building prior to interning them in the POW camps at Angler or Petawawa in Ontario. (13)

When 85 men of a group of about 100 Nisei who had pledged to leave for the Schreiber road camp on March 25th, failed to show up at the train station, the RCMP searched house to house, rounded up the "no-shows" and held them in the Immigration Building. On the 27th, Commissioner Wood wrote to Louis St. Laurent, the Minister of Justice, to find out if a blanket order for internment could be issued for the 85 men in order to avoid a public court appearance. The Commission had explained to Wood *"that any prosecutions and mass appearance in court would give a bad*

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

impression to the public and further complicate the efforts of the Commission in evacuating the Nisei (British Subjects) from the protected area." (14) (see Appendix Chapter 2, 1., for partial text)

On the same day, Wood wired Ass't. Commissioner Mead RCMP that the BCSC has the authority under P.C. 1665 *"to detain and deal with present situation"* and that National Defence could be *"called on to provide housing etc"*. As well, MacNamara wrote to Taylor advising that *"the opinion is held here that the British Columbia Security Commission has authority to (a) detain and (b) that the R.C.M.P. will control such detention."* (14) (see Appendix Chapter 2, 2., for partial text.)

The very next day Wood wired Mead, *"MacNamara has suggested setting up a detention camp in the Interior to be guarded by this force stop I consider this the duty of National Defence under paragraph thirteen Order in Council P.C.one six six five and wish to oppose above suggestion stop Note those detained are in custody of Military authorities in Immigration shed stop I would suggest Commission obtain special authority to order internment apart from procedure laid out under section twenty one DOCR stop Internment Operations advises that they can take three hundred Japanese at Petawawa Internment Camp."* (14)

On the 30th, Hill, the OC of the Vancouver division of the RCMP wrote to Commissioner Mead, of the BCSC enclosing two leaflets being circulated in the Japanese community; one by the NMEG and the other by the JCCC, which had been issued to counter the NMEG leaflet (both reproduced below). (Author's note: When I first read Hill's letter, I thought that this was the reason my brother, Kunio, was told to leave Vancouver. However, my sister-in-law, Kyoshi, his widow, recently told me that he was accused of inciting members of the NMEG to disobey the government order to leave for the Eastern Road Camps.) In addition, Hill also enclosed a record of a telephone conversation between a Mr. Kondo, who apparently had been chosen previously, to represent the Nisei being detained at the Immigration Building, and Vice-Consul Ogawa who was still

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representing the interests of Japan in Vancouver. This conversation is referred to in the book "Mutual Hostages" where there is a reference to the Vice-Consul's advice "*to take the right path*". (15) and (16) (see Appendix Chapter 2, 3., for the full text of the letter and the conversation.) (Author's note: When I saw that this was a transcript of a tapped telephone conversation in Japanese, I was amazed. I had not realized that telephone lines were tapped in that day and that the RCMP had the capability of Japanese translation.)

NMEG Leaflet:
March 29, 1942.

"COPY I

TO THE NISEIS:

Mr. Austin C. Taylor says we are Canadians. Yet, we are subjected to the curfew, our boats, cars, radios, and cameras have been confiscated. Our jobs have been taken from us, and many of us have lost our homes and businesses. We have been boycotted, jailed, interned, and also forced to register and thumb-printed. We are being denied every right and freedom of a so-called democracy like any Enemy Alien.

After being so humiliated and made to suffer for the sake of a few crooked politicians seeking publicity and those who hope to gain materially and financially from the mass evacuation of the Niseis, how can we by any stretch of imagination be Canadians.

Why are not Canadian-born Germans and Italians treated likewise. Canada is making a war of race out of her so proudly upheld war of ideals.

How can Mr. Taylor and his commission expect us to be good Canadians, when he and his associates are teaching us that we cannot expect justice for us and ours from Canada. The democracy is making a farce out of her own constitution.

If Mr. Taylor finds it against his judgement to treat us as Canadians, as well as call us Canadians, then let him consider us as Aliens and intern us. If he and his associates can do neither,

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

then let us all ask him to evacuate us in family groups, providing us with transportation, a decent place of abode, (or materials to build a home), and means of a fair living, (employment or farming), and a written statement promising the same.

Niseis, we have, in our lifetime, proved beyond question that we have been a credit to Canada. If Mr. Taylor should refuse this, then let us fight together with our backs to the wall with one mind, and one hope in our hearts for a common cause and right of a free people.

Remember this, Niseis, when you report at the R.C.M.P. on Tuesday, say 'we will go gladly if this thing we ask be granted.'

Till then, we must co-ordinate and fight with whatever means we have on hand with one thought 'ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE.'

.....

A Nisei will be around to see you for your signature, backing this statement." (15)

JCCC leaflet:
March 29, 1942.
Dear Friend:

"COPY II

At a general meeting of the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Council held Sunday morning, the following resolution was adopted by the Council:

WHEREAS 103 Nisei have received assurances from the B.C. Security Commission that the welfare of their families will be safeguarded by the Commission;

AND WHEREAS those Nisei have Solemnly pledged their word to the Commission that for the sake of the whole Japanese community they will proceed to Schreiber, Ontario.

therefore be it resolved that:

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the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Council commends the decision of the men as a service to the whole community, and earnestly urges that each member of the group carry out his pledge to report to the Hastings Park Clearing Station from 3:30 to 4:00 p.m., March 29;

and further be it resolved that:

The Japanese Canadian Citizens' Council earnestly urges that the whole Japanese community stand behind these men and in carrying out this service and their pledged word.

*Yours sincerely,
JAPANESE CANADIAN
CITIZENS' COUNCIL
SGD K.Shimizu
per Kunio Shimizu
(General Secretary)"(15)*

While this confrontation was going on in Vancouver, we in Victoria, although aware of the fact that something was going on, were pretty well ignorant of the magnitude and the emotional intensity involved, because of the censorship imposed on the news media and our physical separation from the mainland. Probably a primary factor was that we were sent, together with our families, to immediate detention in Hastings Park, when we were evacuated from Victoria. This meant that the husbands and fathers were not immediately targeted for exile the way the Nationals in Vancouver were. Other factors may have also had their influence on the Nisei males in Victoria who accepted exile from the protected area without joining the resistance movement. Another could have been the fact that practically none of the Nisei from Victoria was married, and most family units contained other siblings in many cases, including older sisters, who could remain with the family. This certainly was the situation in our family, where we had a widowed mother without any small children, who could remain with the two children who would be left behind, a brother 15 and sister 22. None of my three older brothers were married, including Kunio. I wonder where he and Tom Shoyama would have stood had they been married at that time and had young children. They

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

were both in their mid to late 20s, well educated, committed to Canada and the Canadian way of life, and determined to demonstrate to the Canadian public that the Nisei were patriotic and trustworthy citizens. I believe that it was fortunate for the future of the Japanese in Canada that the JCCC and "The N.C." were led by individuals prepared to plead with their people for a more reasoned and rational response to the actions of the government in a particularly trying time for all concerned. What would our future have been if our best leaders had chosen to languish behind barbed wire at Angler or Petawawa for the duration of the war?

On April the 8th, C.H.Hill, the OC of the Vancouver detachment RCMP wrote an urgent letter to Taylor, the Chairman of the BCSC, suggesting the Commission immediately publish a notice in "The N.C." that the Commission would no longer interview or contact delegations from the Japanese, that further meetings of Japanese anywhere were prohibited, and that anyone convening such meetings be prosecuted. Also order delinquents from the March 7th departure to the road camps to immediately report to the RCMP at Hastings Park. Disregard of this order would result in all Japanese being confined to their homes until further notice. Those prepared to co-operate and leave the Protected Area were to report to the RCMP at Hastings Park and be prepared to leave within 24 hours. The 72 hour departure notice was being cancelled because of non co-operation. Hill went on to say that it was RCMP belief from reports being received from their contacts, that unless drastic action were taken, organised resistance would continue, with the situation quickly deteriorating. (17) (see Appendix Chapter 2, 4., for the letter)

The following day, April 9th, Hill wrote a "**SECRET**" letter to Commissioner Wood to inform him where matters stood with respect to the removal of Japanese males from the protected area. About 100 men who were supposed to have left for Schreiber, Ontario, on March 25th, were in a group of 132 which was persuaded to leave on March 29th. It was the hope of the authorities that the leniency shown to this first group of resisters

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would encourage better co-operation from the Nisei. However, on April 7th, only 96 of a group of 271 men who were told to report for evacuation, actually left.

The RCMP, at the request of the Commission, were in the process of rounding up the 175 "no-shows", and had succeeded in detaining 15 so far. Hill reported to Commissioner Wood, on a meeting of about 1700 people, mostly Nisei, held on the 7th, at which speakers urging co-operation with the Commission received lukewarm support, while an individual in the crowd who urged resistance to the Commission *"was acclaimed in a most hysterical manner."* He went on to outline that it was his belief that the difficulties with the Nisei began when the Commission sought the assistance of a Nisei Committee in addition to the Mōrii Committee; in his words, *"It was apparent that an appointment of this Committee, representing the Nisei, divided the Japanese community into hostile camps, and as a consequence of that the older Committee has been obliged to withdraw almost discredited in the eyes of the Japanese community"*. He closed his letter with the statement *"With the open violation of constituted authority, as evidenced by the fact that two-thirds of those slated to go to various work camps on April 7th failed to appear, it is clearly apparent that, unless some drastic steps are taken to deal with the situation, Police prestige must necessarily suffer, and our task of enforcing the regulations made increasingly difficult."* (17) (see Appendix Chapter 2, 5., for the letter)

On the 13th, Wood wrote a letter to Keenleyside at External Affairs and sent him copies of both Hill and Taylor's letters and wrote *"the situation, as far as the evacuation of the Nisei is concerned, is deteriorating to the extent that the prestige of the Police may become seriously affected."* He went on to note *"... had the recommendation to form a Labour Battalion under the Department of National Defence to absorb the Nisei been adopted, much of this trouble would have been avoided, whereas it now appears probable that accommodation will have to be made for the detention of some of these people."* (17)

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Keenleyside replied to Wood on the 14th, that he was not surprised by Hill's letter nor by Wood's comments, and went on to say "... Given the background of their birth and education in Canada, it is natural and indeed inevitable that many of the Nisei should rebel against the restrictions which have been imposed upon them". He ended with "The authority of the Government must, of course, be upheld, but I deeply regret that the situation has deteriorated to the point described in your letter and its accompanying documents". (17)

Another of the NMEG pamphlets in the files was dated April 17th, 1942, and read: " *To Nisei*

The Security Commission still refuses to grant our request for Mass Evacuation in Family Groups.

But we are still demanding because we think beyond all doubt that our request is a most reasonable one in view of our enormous sacrifice for our country.

With this conviction we resorted to various methods to secure our last remaining freedom - freedom to live with our families by evacuating en masse in family groups.

We pleaded with Naturalized Canadians to demand it - they gave up without too much effort. We persuaded J.C.C. Council to do their utmost - they also gave up too soon. They even refused to arrange a final nisei mass meeting to discuss our common trouble. We talked with the Security Commission, we wrote to them (copy enclosed) and we sent our lawyer.

The answer is that we are by law Japanese Nationals and we have to do what we are told and go where we are sent. Some families are being sent to Alberta and Manitoba and while there is no promise that all families will be sent like this, the Commission hopes to settle more family groups as time goes on. And this is as much as we can get from them.

We however know that we are Canadians and that we are going to continue all efforts to get what we feel are our rights.

Nsei Mass Evacuation Group.

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On the 28th of April another letter was written by Hill to Commissioner Wood referring to his letter of the 9th, and for the first time makes reference to the "Nisei Mass Evacuation Group". It is the feeling of the RCMP that the leaders *"are a fairly small group of Nisei and Naturalised Canadians"* and despite the fact that the representations made by them to the Commission, sometimes through a Vancouver lawyer, Dennis Murphy, *"might appear to be reasonable, it is felt at the same time the whole movement is definitely aimed at hindering the work of the B.C. Security Commission in its task of evacuating the people from the Protected Area."* (Author's note: During the course of my research into the archival files, I formed the very distinct impression that Hill was very prejudiced against the Japanese or quite narrow-minded in his outlook and this letter is a good example of his mental attitude. Commissioner Wood, on the other hand, upheld, in my mind, the very fair-minded and just attitude which one would expect from a senior law-enforcement officer representing the justice arm of the Dominion Government.)

Hill also referred to Bunji Hisaoka as the leader of the Group and enclosed an RCMP report on the man. An NMEG leaflet was enclosed, and this leaflet is reproduced here. Also mentioned in Hill's letter was a demonstration at the Immigration Building on the 25th (which was also mentioned in the leaflet) and a sit-down strike at Hastings Park. (17) (see Appendix Chapter 2, 6., for complete text of the letter and the report on Hisaoka.)

April 25th, Another leaflet of the Nisei MEG

"To Nisei

Yesterday, 103 Canadians of Japanese origin went into internment camp opposing to the last for an ideal, for humanity and for you. Today, 106 Canadians boys in whose veins run the blood of a proud people have given themselves up for voluntary internment as a protest against the Commission's refusal of our plan for mass evacuation in family groups. They have sacrificed themselves for the weak, women, and children, and the aged. Give them credit for their daring! Take your hats off to what they have

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

in their hearts! Be not ashamed of your tears if you weep for them! They deserve it all.

Flass (sic)

We have just had word that Mr. Taylor of the Security Commission has gone to interview the boys at the Immigration Building. According to the statement made by him, the boys have been refused detention. No definite reason was given to them for refusal.

Flash

The boys are sitting down at the Immigration Building until they have further word from the Security Commission, and the latest news is that they have forced their way in for an interview." (17)

In early May, most of the Nisei males from Victoria, including my older brother Stum, who was 19, were ordered to depart for Ontario and ended up in Camp Black at Schreiber. (Another brother Susumu, aka "Sumo" or "Jimmy", had already been sent to Ontario in late April and had ended up in the Jackfish road camp). My oldest brother Kunio was ordered to get out of Vancouver on the 11th, and I chose to leave Hastings Park and my family, to go with him to Ontario rather than be exiled with men whom I would, in all probability, not know, since practically all the unmarried Victoria Nisei men were already gone. Kunio and I shared seating space with George Tanaka (who would later assume an important leadership role in the Toronto Japanese Community and nationally. He was the older brother of Kinzie Tanaka, the 1st Vice President of the JCCA in Vancouver). The rest of the car was filled with other Japanese men, most of whom were from Woodfibre, and whom we did not know. We travelled for three days and three nights to Ontario, and ended up at Camp Black with the rest of the men from Victoria, and a host of other men from various places along the B.C. coast.

On the 20th, the Canadian Postal Censorship department intercepted a letter from S. Kitamura in Vancouver to T. Kitamura in the Moose River road camp on the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway. It contained an NMEG leaflet and the government letter

THE EXILES

is reproduced in its entirety, except for its two page format and unique letterhead printing.

"CONFIDENTIAL FILE No. VAN.CAN.
Canadian Postal Censorship 13194-177

OTTAWA, ONT.

No. 339

Vancouver, B.C.

No. 169

Date May 20, 1942.

No. 253

No. 271

INTERCEPTED LETTER

Reg. No. 943

FROM

S. Kitamura

252 Powell St.,

Vancouver, B.C.

Via Red Pass, B.C.

TO

Mr. T. Kitamura,

Japanese Camp,

B. 5 Moose River

DATE OF LETTER May 14th, 1942. LANGUAGE Japanese
COMMENTS

Following is the translation of a Multigraphed circular enclosed in the above addressed registered letter. It is signed by the 'Second Generation Mass Evacuation Group' dated May 11th, and is one of a series issued several times a week.

'To our National brothers and sisters: we send out the following facts for the welfare of our brothers and sisters ---

1. Twenty of our Japanese families have been sent to sugar beet farms in Manitoba but they found no place to go and are in distress. Is a move like that satisfactory?:

2. Rev. Mr. Shimizu (USC) yesterday gave a report of the Kaslo town site -- According to this the scenery only is good but as for the security nothing is known. The whole responsibility lies on the individual. After that will you still be able to trust the system made by the custodian?

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3. *In the work camps there is no 'compassion' shown. Obligations are piled up one upon the other. If one gets sick or wounded it has a repercussion for the remainder of his life. Instances have already happened at Princeton and Jasper. Why is there no insurance for the workers? What crime have our brothers committed? (...following print not clear).*

4. *In Hastings Park there are instances of improper conduct on the part of pastors supposed to lead our sisters there. Can anyone feel certain of the safety of our women who are moved among the white people whom we do not know?*

5. *In view of the above mentioned misconduct of pastors and educators what authority has their teaching? We ask you to reflect on such as dare to pose as our teachers!*

6. *At the end of the war our nationals will be scattered all over and how many do you think will ever see their families reunited?*

Consider ! Brothers !

Remember the great spirit of 'Universal Brotherhood'.

(A Japanese Nationalist term)

Put aside the selfish problems of self and family and think of the welfare of the great community of 23,000.

We, even though our body be torn limb from limb we consider only the safety of our 23,000 brothers. Under the banner of justice and Canadian citizenship rights we will advance. In order to attain this we need the co-operation of our numerous brothers and sisters.

Come on ! Brothers and Sisters ! We fight for ourselves and community, for the love of our wives and children, and for civilization !'

Letter itself is quite harmless.

One copy supplied to R.C.M.P.Vancouver, B.C.

COPIES OF NOTES REFERRED TO

National Defence

External Affairs

R.C.M.P.

British Columbia Security Commission

Labour

THE EXILES

DISPOSITION OF LETTER

C. No. 11 Released

300,00-19-9-41" (18)

(Author's note: This letter has been included in its entirety to show the reader an example of the censorship which was carried out during the World War II years. Usually, derogatory statements were excised or the letter was condemned and never reached its destination. However, copies of the letter's excerpted or excised portions were always distributed to the various Dominion agencies which might be interested in the contents. Despite the comment by the Censor that these leaflets were produced several times a week, the ones which have been reproduced in this chapter were the only ones which the author's research turned up in the National Archives. Frank Moritsugu, who was in the Yard Creek Camp, of the Revelstoke-Sicamous Highway Project, told me that the men smartened up quickly in their correspondence. They used to write on the backs of the letter paper and words got lost when the Censor excised portions from front or back.)

On May 13, D.R.Sargent, Brigadier Commanding Vancouver Defences, issued a memorandum on an incident at the Immigration Building which was being used to hold Japanese prior to shipment to internment camps in Ontario. Apparently, in the previous ten days, other Japanese were bringing food to the building and presumably the food was being given to the "internees" by the sentries, because the people had to converse with each other by shouting up to the fourth floor where the men were being held. When the visitors were asked to keep away from the building, the men on the fourth floor *"created quite a commotion and used abusive language to the sentries below"*. As a result of this incident, orders were given to the sentries to put a stop to this practice.

On the night of the 11th, 40 Japanese went to the Building and asked to be interned. Later that night, 22 of these people were interned with the other prisoners. The prisoners then asked that they be allowed to talk to higher authorities *"to air their grievances"*. On the afternoon of the 13th, when an officer from

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headquarters was sent to the building to talk to their delegation in the orderly room, the prisoners refused to send anyone and instead, responded by sending a letter which presumably detailed their grievances. A stand-off resulted after which the prisoners proceeded to turn a fire hose on the sentries from the window, and then proceeded to wreck the detention room, "*by breaking windows and the furnishings and breaking a hole from one room to another*".

Later in the afternoon, one of the prisoners went to the orderly room to meet with the Staff Officer. "*The general complaint was that they wished for mass evacuation with their families, and as a minor complaint, they objected to the stoppage of visitors and supplies.*" Subsequent to this meeting, at about 4 pm, the Officer Commanding Vancouver Defences went to the building to meet with the men's representatives. Again the men refused to meet in the orderly room, insisting that the officer come to where they were.

The stand-off lasted until about 6 pm when the prisoners were asked for men to clean up the debris from the roadway below the windows. When they refused, they were told no evening meal would be served. This action resulted in more damage and commotion in their quarters, with the result that two tear gas bombs were used to subdue the men. By 9 pm all was quiet. (see Appendix Chapter 2, 7., for complete text)

The next day, MacNamara, the Associate Deputy Minister of Labour in a report to Mitchell, the Minister of Labour, on the movement of Japanese from the coast mentioned the "*trouble*" at the Immigration Building. His report was titled "*Hastings Park Trouble*", although it was evident from the report that the incident took place at the Immigration Building.

It is interesting to note that MacNamara wrote "*The British Columbia Security Commission has experienced considerable trouble inducing Canadian-born Japanese to accept these road jobs on a voluntary basis, mainly because they feel they should be privileged to remain in British Columbia because of the fact that they were born in Canada.*" (Author's note: did the authorities at

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the operational level deliberately keep the trouble with the NMEG away from the Ministerial level because the files that were examined did not contain any correspondence addressed to Ministers referring to the NMEG and their demands.) MacNamara reported, that to this date, 96 men had already been sent to internment camps and that the 106 men in the building would be moved immediately. (19) (See Appendix Chapter 2, 8., for partial text.)

Both Adachi and "Mutual Hostages" concluded that the NMEG won their war with the BCSC because the decision was made in June that the married men would be re-united with their families as housing could be built in the interior of B.C.

"The NC" reported on Wednesday, July 1st:

"PLAN RE-UNION OF MARRIED MEN AND FAMILIES"

Vancouver, B.C., July 1 - ... Expansion of housing facilities in the interior towns, and a widespread program to place family units in self supporting communities and on farms outside the protected coastal area was announced in a press statement issued by the British Columbia Security Commission. The statement indicated at the same time definite plans are going ahead whereby men now employed in road camps will be united with their families."

On Saturday July 4th, the paper reported:

"New Policy for Evacuation Group

Vancouver, B.C. - In a statement issued Wednesday the Nisei Mass Evacuation Group announced that it had decided to change its policy of opposition to 'one of cooperation with the Security Commission.' This change in policy followed the announcement on the part of the Commission (reported in the July 1 New Canadian) that its plans to reunite families and prevent future break-ups had advanced considerably after meetings with federal authorities and government officials in Alberta and Ontario.

It is understood that remaining leaders of the Mass Evacuation Group, which has led the non-co-operative movement to date, had

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decided upon the change after personal interviews with members of the Security Commission.

These interviews, it is said, stressed that the Commission, as far as possible, would re-unite the men with their wives and children and attempt to place family units so as to 'prevent the necessity of breaking up families'.

A committee of the group headed by Shigeichi Uchibori will work to assist in the evacuation of families in the Vancouver area. An office has been set up at 573 East Hastings Street.

In its statement the group said, 'We appeal to all persons to realize this change of situation, and to support us in our new policy, and with us co-operate with the authorities' "

The NMEG counted the establishment of this housing as their victory, but in a conversation the author had with Tom Shoyama on January 3rd 1993, Shoyama contended that as early as mid-March of 1942, he accompanied Fred Boulton, a real estate developer into the interior to look at prospective locations for the resettlement of the Japanese. This account is related in Broadfoot's book "YEARS of SORROW, YEARS of SHAME", p.183.

Documentation which supports the timing of this contention can also be found in a telegram which Taylor sent on March 4th to several unidentified government officials. In it, he outlines the problems facing the Commission, as well as possible solutions; "THERE ARE IN SUCH PLACES AS GREENWOOD KASLO MINTO SHALALTH LUMBERTON AND OTHER POINTS IN PROVINCE SUFFICIENT UNOCCUPIED ACCOMMODATION WHICH FOR MINIMAL EXPENDITURE CAN BE MADE HABITABLE IN SHORT TIME TO ACCOMMODATE THREE THOUSAND MALES OR ONE THOUSAND FAMILIES STOP IF MALES ARE EVACUATED TO THESE AREAS FIRST AND GIVEN SUFFICIENT BUILDING MATERIAL AND PLACED TO WORK WITH REASONABLE SUPERVISION WE BELIEVE THIS ACCOMMODATION CAN BE INCREASED IN SHORT TIME BY EVACUEES THEMSELVES TO PERHAPS DOUBLE THIS NUMBER STOP HOWEVER WE AGAIN HAVE TO CONSIDER COMMUNITY

THE EXILES

PROTESTS THAT WILL BE FORTHCOMING IN EVENT THIS PLAN ADOPTED". (20) (See Appendix Chapter 2, 9., for complete text.)

In addition, the author will present documentation in the next chapter which will establish that it was not the resistance of the NMEG which turned the tide against the separation of husbands from their families.

Some of the single men must have thought that the NMEG resistance would enable them to stay with the family unit as the following letter shows: August 22/42...Intercepted letter dated August the 10th, 1942 from A.I., Griffin Lake B.C., to Mr. A. A., c/o The Sun Beauty Parlor, 437 Powell St., Vancouver B.C., in English, excerpted by the Censor *"Well you should never believe 'The New Canadian' when they write something good about these camps. All the four months I've been out here I've never seen anybody work so hard. Maybe the older men do a bit but the young guys never do anything. You know about the Mass Evacuation. I thought it was going along fine until they said single men have to stay in the road camps. That sure burned everybody up. Lot of the men are saying to kick the members of the Mass Evacuation Committee and soon"*.

Copies of the intercepted letter were sent to National Defence Can 773-A, R.C.M.P.(4), External Affairs, British Columbia Security Commission, Labour, Can 13, 194-B-355 (4) The letter was released.

Another censored letter which did not get to its destination illustrates the shame, degradation and despair felt by some of the evacuees as well as the discrimination experienced by most of the Japanese as they went to non-Commission settlements in the interior of British Columbia.

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

(Following is a copy of a confidential letter of the:)

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL WAR SERVICES
CANADA.

DIRECTORATE OF CENSORSHIP

PRISONER OF WAR MAIL

DISPOSAL OF LETTER

FROM:	TO:	
H.A.	Mr. I.I.,	Condemned
c/o MR.K.A.,	#396 - 1308,	
66 POPOFF	CAMP 101,	
SLOCAN, B.C.	CANADA	

Date of Letter	Examiner	Typist	Examined	Typed Language
November 17th, 1943	3000	30.11.43	7.12.43.	Japanese
152 NW				
171				

COMMENTS

Letter from friend to friend.

Writer encourages his friend to remain in the Internment Camp.

'A' 'A Japanese man's soul and breath are one and the same thing. We hear from your family that you are suffering the hardships of internment. Compared with you I feel that I am not suffering at all here in the Road Camp. I must apologize to you. This last year has been a year of trial for all of us. Now I am in KELOWNA VALLEY and find the people here particularly narrow-minded and hard to get along with. Since Pearl Harbour they call us "Coast Japs" and persecute us dreadfully. We out here greatly revere you and others for your strong stand. We are weak in contrast. We ought to be ashamed at our weak stand.'

'B' 'When we think of the fine properties they have taken away from us Japanese and the small poor huts they have given us to live in the ghost-towns I feel the emptiness of life and I am moved to tears. At first they were awful places. Now because of the innate

THE EXILES

cleanliness of our people, things have become a little better but still are pretty bad."

'C' 'Now the Selective Service comes along and the second generation and the naturalized persons are starting an opposition movement as they did last year. Where will we JAPANESE find a place at last to make our home?'

Rest of letter of no interest."

(Author's note: I had never met anyone who had been involved in the NMEG movement until I went to Calgary in October of 1989 to take part in a "Seniors Conference". There I met Jack Hayami and his late wife, Kimiko; his daughter, Jackie, was involved in the organization of the conference. He told me, that in 1942, he was married and had a daughter who was just a child of three. He was concerned for the well-being of his wife and daughter and was determined not to be separated from his family. For his concern for his family, and his determination not to be separated from them, he supported the cause of the NMEG and for this, he was put into the internment camp at Angler. At one of the periodic amnesty visits of the authorities in 1944, Jack chose to be re-united with his wife and child, rather than languish in a POW camp for the rest of the war. His choice was to relocate to Montreal and re-establish a home and future for his family. I was impressed by Jack and could empathise with his situation back in 1942. His story and demeanor made me lose my preconceived notion that the men who chose to be interned were a lot of trouble-making, hard-headed individuals. When I think about Jack and others who were in his situation, I thank God that I was young enough not to have been married, with a young family, about whom I had to be concerned. Incidentally, I found out recently, when I read Pat Adachi's book "ASAHI: A Legend In Baseball", that he had been a member of that famous Japanese team for a year, and later, his daughter told me, he was a member of the "TIGERS" of Ocean Falls.)

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

Appendix Chapter 2

1. March 27th, 1942 ... S.T.Wood letter to Louis St.Laurent, Minister of Justice,"re: refusal of 85 men to go to Schreiber Mar.25 ...

(2) ... The eighty-five men were arrested yesterday and confined in the Immigration Shed. They were given until 5 o' clock last evening to divulge the names of the instigators of this action and at that hour refused to do so.

(3) It was explained to me that the Commission considered that any prosecutions and mass appearance in court would give a bad impression to the public and further complicate the efforts of the Commission in evacuating the Nisei (British Subjects) from the protected area.

(4) I was asked if a blanket order for Internment could be issued for the whole eighty-five Japanese in order that they might be moved at once to the Internment Camp, as such action would probably have a beneficial effect on the remaining Japanese males, and it is considered that this action is necessary immediately, before any further evacuation could be ordered.

(5) I informed the members of the Commission that I would put the matter before you at once; instructed him that in the interval the names of the eighty-five Japanese were to be obtained and forwarded by air mail.

(6) May I have your instructions, please.

Yours faithfully

S.T.Wood
Commissioner" (14)

THE EXILES

2. March 27, 1942 ... Macnamara letter to A.Taylor in part:

" ... The opinion is held here that the British Columbia Security Commission has authority to (a) detain and (b) that the R.C.M.P. will control such detention.

I discussed the situation with the Honourable Mr. Mitchell and we suggest to you that the men in question be temporarily detained in Vancouver either in a building at Hastings Park or elsewhere, and that they be guarded by Mounted Police guards.

If the number of men increases some arrangement will have to be made for putting them in a camp and your idea of using a mining camp appears to me as being excellent.

I have conferred with Col. Streight who has charge of Internment Operations, and I am advised that there is no unoccupied accommodation in the internment camps.

... As I understand it you will have about 125 men under detention by this evening." (14)



3. *(Following is a copy of an RCMP letter.)*

Vancouver, B.C.
March 30, 1942.

The B.C. Security Commission,
Marine Building,
Vancouver, B.C.

Attention Commissioner Mead.

Dear Sir:

In connection with the Nisei group, who after refusing to go to Schreiber, Ontario, were held in the Immigration Detention Shed temporarily, the following information has come to hand.

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

On March 29 a circular unsigned, addressed to the Niseis was circulated in the Japanese community. I attach a copy marked (1). Immediately following the circularization of that document a similar one was put out by the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Council signed by Kunio Shimizu. Copy of this is attached marked (2). You will see that document #2 was put out to offset document #1. However at this office are the originals of these two documents, as well as a third document which is #2 in the Japanese language. The significant point to draw to your attention is that both documents appear to be struck from the same mimeograph machine, although it is obvious that two different typewriters have been used. As the delinquent Nisei held a meeting in the Tairiku Nippo hall on the evening of March 28th and as this is the headquarters of the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Council, it is, of course, possible the typewriter and the mimeograph machine were used there without the knowledge of Shimizu.

Of interest also will be a third enclosure which is a record of a conversation between Kondo and Vice-Consul Ogawa, which took place on March 24th. Kondo was the third man picked at the time of the meeting between the Nisei and yourself and Mr. Taylor on March 28th at the Immigration Shed, to represent those Nisei then and there confined. He is now listed as a delinquent as he did not leave on the train with the 132 Nisei Sunday night. In connection with enclosure #3, it may be noted that Mr. Ogawa was very careful in that he urges the Nisei to take the right path and points out that he is not in a position to advise them as he is a representative of the Japanese Government.

Adverting to enclosure #2, information has been received at this office that the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Council, which was hurriedly formed a few days ago, consists of:

Hiseoka
Iwasaki
Takanaka
Kinoshita
Nakai

These names have not been published but are said to represent 36 Nisei organizations or groups, some of which are groups made up

THE EXILES

of the wives of men already gone to camps. It is understood that at any meeting they have, which are mostly held in the building of the Tairiku Nippo, two men of their group picket the door and these men, who are Ode and Matsubayashi, do not allow anyone to enter unless they are Nisei. It appears that this Council have retained or are considering retaining the services of Dennis Murphy, local barrister, who is to present a resolution on their behalf either to Ottawa or to a Minister of the Crown whom they expect to visit Vancouver in the near future. This information is somewhat vague but you will appreciate the difficulty of securing correct detail under the circumstances. The information has been received from several sources, chief source of which, was a Nisei who was in the group held at the Immigration Detention Shed. This man also pointed out that at the time Mr. Austin Taylor and yourself asked the group of Nisei in the Detention Shed to form an immediate decision as to whether or not they would proceed to Ontario and they felt they wanted more time it was because they wished to consult with Kunio Shimizu. It is a fact that Kunio Shimizu was outside the Immigration building at the time of this meeting.

It might be a worth while idea to see that those whose names are listed herein are included in one of the next groups to leave this area and thus possibly remove influences which are not working in co-operation with us.

Yours truly,

"C.H.Hill"
(C.H.Hill) A/Comm'r.,
Commanding "E" Division.

JKB/G
Encl.

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

COPY

Page 1 III.

"E" DIVISION.

ENQUIRY NO. V-J-8 JAPANESE

(Conversation in Japanese)

28-3-42

The following is a true record of conversations between parties as stated below.

Kondo to Vice-Consul OGAWA -
March 24th 1942 - 8.00 P.M.

Kondo: Is this Mr. Ogawa?

Ogawa: Oh Mr.Kondo.

Kondo: Tonight the first lot of Nisei are to be sent.

Ogawa: Tonight!

Kondo: Yes, but we have refused to go, and regarding this we would like your advice.

Ogawa: How did you oppose it.

Kondo: The reason why we opposed is that we are Nisei and would have no objection to going if they would guarantee our future status after the war (very indistinct and low), unless we have this we said we will not go. Tonight 135 of us were to be sent but we decided we would not go. I would like your advice regarding this.

Ogawa: I cannot express myself over the phone very well.

Kondo: If you don't mind we will come to see you.

Ogawa: I have no objection to your coming but if it is after dark you cannot come out.

Kondo: Oh we will manage somehow by hiring a taxi.

Ogawa: What time were you supposed to leave tonight.

Kondo: At 7.15 P.M.

Ogawa: It is past that time now - did a few go?

THE EXILES

Kondo: Not one. The B.C. Committee told us that if we refused to go we will be interned, but we said we did not care.

Ogawa: When did you get the notice.

Kondo: Yesterday.

Ogawa: That is very short notice.

Kondo: We sent in a petition asking if we did go to camp to be treated as Canadians.

Ogawa: Did you get a reply?

Kondo: Yes, Shimizu and Shoyama got a reply and the reply said this might be possible. This might is not enough for us. We must have something more definite. We must have a definite agreement between the Government and ourselves, failing this we will not go.

Ogawa: I understand how you feel.

Kondo: Well I will tell you something. I have a friend in No.2 Camp in Jasper and I received a letter from him yesterday. In it he said he had not enough to eat and asked me to send him 50 pounds of rice. I told Shimizu this but he said he felt sure that would not happen to the Nisei. Nothing is certain and unless we are certain of good treatment we refuse to go.

Ogawa: I advise you to explain your stand more clearly and come to an agreement.

Kondo: We had a meeting above Tairiku Nippo at 5.50 to 6.30 tonight and the 135 all agreed not to go.

Ogawa: During time of war it is not advisable to oppose law and whilst your reasons are good you should explain to the Canadian Government as they are not unreasonable.

Kondo: It seems at the camps they give you a slice of bacon and a bowl of rice only. Shimizu told us if we do not go tonight we would be interned but I told him we did not care. I would ask again for your advice.

Ogawa: As a representative of the Japanese Government here I am not in a position to tell the Nisei what to do. The only thing I can tell you is to take the right path.

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

Kondo: That is all I wanted to hear. Thank you very much. (15)

4. *(Following is a copy of an RCMP letter.)*

Vancouver, B.C.,
April 8th, 1942.

PERSONAL & URGENT

Major Austin C. Taylor,
B.C. Security Commission,
Marine Building,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Dear Sir:

Re: Japanese

The following suggestions are submitted to you as a means to overcome the trouble which we are now having with the Nisei, and it is suggested that a notice be immediately published in the "New Canadian" as follows:

1. Owing to resistance now being shown, the Commission has decided that until further notice they will, under no consideration interview or desire to contact delegations from Japanese.
2. No further meeting of Japanese will be permitted anywhere. Any persons convening such meetings will be subject to prosecution.
3. All delinquents who were to report to the train leaving C.P.R. station March 7th, 1942, are to report to R.C.M. Police at Hastings Park forthwith. Failure to comply with this order will mean that all Japanese will be confined to their houses and quarters until further orders.
4. It is apparent that there are numbers of Japanese who desire to co-operate with the Security Commission and leave the Protected

THE EXILES

Area. Such persons should report to the R.C.M.Police at Hastings Park, prepared to leave within 24 hours.

5. The 72 hour stay of departure is now cancelled, owing to non-co-operation.

2. There is no doubt whatever from reports received from R.C.M.Police contacts that unless drastic action is now taken, organized resistance will continue, and the situation will fast deteriorate, and I am, therefore, submitting the above mentioned suggestions for your consideration.

3. It is felt by us that the delegations of Nisei who have been interviewed by your Commission are not conveying to the Japanese people the Commission's wishes, but their own desires which are definitely not co-operative.

4. It is the considered opinion of the writer that these suggestions be given immediate and careful attention and that they be considered in the way of urgent priority over all other matters.

Yours truly,

(SGD)

(C.H.Hill) A/Comm'r.

Commanding "E" Division

CHH/ES (17)

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

5. *(Following is a copy of an RCMP letter.)*

SECRET

M.J. 21

Vancouver, B.C.
April 9th, 1942.

The Commissioner,
R. C. M. Police,

Ottawa, Canada.

Sir:

Re: Removal of Japanese from
Protected Areas - B.C.

1. Reference is made to my airmail communication to you of March 26, 1942, to which was attached a list of Canadian-born Japanese who refused to comply with the order issued by the British Columbia Security Commission to entrain for Schreiber, Ontario, on March 25th.
2. On March 28th these delinquents, who had been apprehended and held in custody at the Immigration Building, Vancouver, were interviewed by Mr. Austin Taylor, Chairman of the British Columbia Security Commission, who received from them a promise to proceed to Schreiber, Ontario, on the 29th. They were part of the group numbering 132, whose departure from here I communicated to you by my telegram of March 30th. It might be stated that even though their promise had been given to Mr. Taylor, eight failed to show up, and we were told by our various Japanese contacts that those who appeared were more or less forced to do so by their parents.
3. It was hoped that in dealing leniently with this group the Canadian-born Japanese would see fit to co-operate, and that further opposition to removal would not occur.
4. However, on April 7th a further group numbering 271, was supposed to leave, but of that group only 96 actually left, as conveyed to you by my telegram of April 8th. Thus, we have at present a further group of 175 Canadian-born delinquents.

THE EXILES

5. It was apparent at this office that unless some drastic action were taken in respect of these people the situation would deteriorate and, possibly, get completely out of hand. With that in view, I sent a personal and urgent communication to the Chairman of the B.C. Security Commission, copy of which is attached for your information.

6. You will see that the Commission decided that the delinquents should be apprehended by us under the British Columbia Security Commission Order No. 5, copy of which is attached, to be dealt with by the Commission at a later date. To date we have succeeded in apprehending 15 of these delinquents.

7. It will be understood that these Canadian-born Japanese are not amenable to discipline as are the Japanese Nationals, with whom we have experienced very little difficulty. When they fail to report for the purpose of entraining, they naturally go into hiding. We notice that their attitude is changing, and that they will resist the evacuation procedure as much as is possible.

8. These Canadian-born subjects feel that their status entitles them to preferential treatment, and, although under the scheme of evacuation they are getting preferential treatment, they are unwilling to realise it. It is true that their policy of opposition was at first inspired by a small group, but I am afraid that the insubordination is now widespread. This can best be illustrated by a meeting which took place day before yesterday in Vancouver, and which was covered by S/Cst. Upton.

9. At this meeting, which was attended by some 1700 persons, chiefly Nisei, speakers urged co-operation with the B.C. Security Commission and with the Police, but received a very lukewarm reception. On the other hand, when an opportunity was given one of the crowd to speak and he stated that though he was Canadian-born he had lost his radio, his camera, his boat, his automobile and his property, and was obliged to leave this area under the same conditions almost as an alien and urged the gathering to resist, he was acclaimed in a most hysterical manner.

10. It is realized that the removal of such a large group of people from this area is decidedly a difficult task, and there necessarily

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

must be some cases of injustice and some unavoidable hardships on a few of those affected. Each case of hardship, however, is made much of by the Nisei, who, unfortunately, lack both discipline and mature judgement.

11. When this movement first started, as you know, we relied to a considerable degree on a committee of Japanese composed of Mr. Morii, Mr. Nishiguchi and Mr. Nishio. The first two are naturalised Canadians, but the last named is a Japanese National. All three wield considerable influence amongst the Japanese community generally. A short time ago the Commission considered it advisable to seek the assistance of certain Nisei, and with this object in view, Messrs. Shoyama, Kunio Shimizu and Miss Uchida were asked to form a committee on behalf of the Nisei. It was apparent that the appointment of this Committee representing the Nisei, divided the Japanese community into hostile camps, and as a consequence of that the older Committee has been obliged to withdraw almost discredited in the eyes of the Japanese community. The difficulties we are now experiencing with the Nisei appear to date from that time.

12. With the open violation of constituted authority, as evidenced by the fact that two-thirds of those who were slated to go to various work camps on April 7th failed to appear, it is clearly apparent that, unless some drastic steps are taken to deal with the situation, Police prestige must necessarily suffer, and our task of enforcing the regulations made increasingly difficult.

3. Will keep you advised of developments from time to time.

(SGD)

(C.H. Hill)

Asst. Commissioner,
Commanding "E" Division
CHH/M.

ENCLS: 3. (17)

THE EXILES

6. *(Following is a copy of an RCMP letter.)*

M.J. 21 (Pt. 3).

Vancouver, B.C.

April 28th,

1942.

The Commissioner,
R. C. M. Police,
Ottawa, Canada.

Sir:

Re: Removal of Japanese from
Protected Areas - B.C.

Please refer to my air mail communication to you under the above heading dated April 9th.

2. Evidence of organised resistance to the scheme, whereby persons of Japanese origin were to be evacuated from this Protected Area, continues to come to hand. It is felt at this Office that the ringleaders of this organised resistance are a fairly small group of Nisei and Naturalised Canadians who choose to call themselves the "Nisei Mass Evacuation Group". This group has made representations to the B.C. Security Commission from time to time, sometimes through Denis (sic) Murphy, a local barrister, and while those representations might appear to be reasonable, it is felt at the same time the whole movement is definitely aimed at hindering the work of the B.C. Security Commission in its task of evacuating these people from the Protected Area.

3. The consideration which has been given to this group by members of the B.C. Security Commission does not appear in any way to have served any purpose except to harden the resistance of this group. The leaders of this group would appear to use their contact with the Security Commission for the purpose of enhancing their prestige with their Nationals, and at the same time to carry on their sinister operations for the purpose of creating trouble and arousing dissension generally. A movement of this magnitude must, of course, bring many problems which have to be overcome, and whilst consideration to individual cases is, no

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

doubt, necessary, at the same time this should not be allowed to hamper or delay the main issue, namely the speedy evacuation of all members of Japanese racial origin from the Protected Area, which latter has been deemed necessary for the safety of the State. In this connection it might be noted that there are no people more astute than the average Oriental to take advantage of anything which they might consider weakness, and the troubles which have attended the evacuation might perhaps be due to a lack of firmness in handling the whole question.

4. On March 7th I communicated by airmail with you under the heading "The New Canadian" - B.C. Ref: 954/1-17, and in Paragraph 3 gave you seven names of individuals who appeared at that time to be responsible, at least in part, for the resistance to the evacuation movement. Since then it has been found that these individuals look to Bunji HISAOKA for leadership. Hisaoka is subject of a report dated April 27th, 1942 - B.C.Ref: 935-647, submitted by S/Constable Upton, being forwarded to you concurrently. For convenience a copy this report is attached hereto.

5. HISAOKA spends a considerable amount of his time at the office of the "Continental Daily News", which is known to be the meeting place of the Nisei Mass Evacuation Group. Hisaoka is a naturalised Canadian, and it appears quite significant that he should be chosen by the Consul, Mr. KAWASAKI, to take care of interests of Japanese Nationals here after Mr. Kawasaki's departure.

6. On April 25th sixty Canadian citizens of Japanese racial origin held a demonstration at the Immigration Detention Building, Vancouver, where they insisted on internment sooner than comply with the order of the B.C.Security Commission to leave this area. This is dealt with in a separate communication under the heading of "Internment of Japanese (Other than Nationals)" - B.C.Ref: 269 G.9-1-1.

7. I wish to draw to your attention that immediately following this demonstration a mimeographed sheet appeared in the streets in the Japanese quarter, put out by the Nisei Mass Evacuation Group. While, as yet, there is no proof of it, it is strongly suspected this

THE EXILES

sheet was prepared and mimeographed in the office of the "Continental Daily News". Your particular attention is drawn to the wording of this leaflet, especially the last paragraph. It may be stated that the leaflet has also appeared in the Japanese language.

8. It can readily be seen that the distribution of inflammatory leaflets of this nature will only serve to aggravate the present situation, and if it can be conclusively proved that these leaflets originate from the office of the "Continental Daily News" a prosecution might be instituted. However, in view of the difficulties and the probable length of time necessary to secure such evidence, it would appear in the best interest to have this place and all other printing establishments operated by Japanese closed immediately.

9. Further it is to be noted that all news of the many delinquents who have failed to report has been sedulously kept out of the papers, but it is not to be assumed that such facts are not known. Signs are not lacking of an undercurrent of impatience at the length of time taken to get rid of the Japanese, and yesterday there was a report of a sit-down strike which took place at the Manning Pool at Hastings Park, which was headlined by the "Daily Province" in last evening's issue. If there was any open demonstration against evacuation, and this is a grave possibility, and if the situation is not handled firmly, it can readily be seen that the public in British Columbia may be again aroused and demand immediate and speedy action by the Government.

10. I will keep you advised of developments.

(SGD)

(C.H.Hill)

Ass't. Commissioner,
Commanding "E" Division.

JKB/M.

ENCLS: 0 (17)

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

(Following is a copy of an RCMP letter.)

DATE
Province

VANCOUVER C.I.B.
Division "E"
April 27th, 1942.
British Columbia

SECRET

Re: Bunji Hisaoka - (Japanese), Vancouver, B.C.

1. Through strictly private and confidential sources, it was ascertained that Mr Bernard, who is Agent for Mr. Schwartz, Spanish Consul General at Montreal, was requested to nominate a Japanese citizen for a commission to look after the interests of Japanese Nationals.
2. Mr Bernard got in touch with Consul Kawasaki in respect to this matter, and Kawasaki put forward the name of Bunji Hisaoka, who up to recently has been the Manager of the Stanley Park Shipyards in Vancouver.
3. Mr Hisaoka is a Naturalized Canadian and his activities have been the cause of suspicion in the past and this suspicion is only heightened by his name being put forward by Consul Kawasaki for the post as it would have been assumed that a Japanese National, and not a Naturalized Canadian, would have been more fitting.
4. A point of further significance is to be attached to the fact that Consul Kawasaki, instead of telephoning Mr Hisaoka at his residence, appeared to be aware of the fact that his headquarters were now at the office of the Tairiku Nippo (Continental Daily News).
5. The premises of this newspaper have been utilized as a kind of headquarters for the subversive elements in the local Japanese community, who are doing their utmost to hinder the work of the B.C. Security Commission in evacuating Japanese from the Protected Area. As has been pointed out in the past, Hisaoka himself, is one of the main leaders in this group.

THE EXILES

(Sgd) (G.N.R. Upton) S/Cst

The Commissioner,
R.C.M.P., Ottawa.

Sir:

FORWARDED: In this connection please refer to my communication to you of even date under the heading "Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas" -B.C. ref. MN.J.21 (Pt 3)

27-4-42.
JKB/M.

(Sgd)
(C.H.Hill) A/Comm'r
Commanding
"E" Division. (17)

7. 6-0-7

Extract from H.Q.S.7368-1
C O P Y

MEMORANDUM IN RESPECT TO INCIDENT AT IM- MIGRATION BUILDING, VANCOUVER, B.C. ON 13TH MAY, 1942

There are at present approximately 130 Japanese internees in our custody at the Immigration Building, Vancouver, B.C. Some of these internees have been there for approximately three weeks. During the past ten days considerable numbers of Japanese have gathered daily outside the Immigration Building bringing large amounts of food for the use of the internees, and have carried on conversations from outside the building with the internees within by means of shouting up to the fourth floor where the Japanese are interned.

When these visitors were urged to keep away from the building the internees created quite a commotion and used abusive language to the sentries below. In view of this situation orders were given that

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

visitors should not be allowed to approach the building and that parcels of food should not be passed to the prisoners.

On the night of the 11th of May a body of 40 Japanese approached the building and asked to be interned, and were kept away by the guard until such time as contact was made with the R.C.M.P. and instructions obtained in respect to the party. Eventually, on the night in question 22 of the 40 were interned with the other prisoners.

From this stage the prisoners as a whole became more restive and more difficult to handle, and requested that they be given an opportunity to interview higher authority in order to air their grievances. At the request of the Officer of the Guard, an officer from this headquarters was sent down to the Immigration Building this afternoon at 1330 hours and the Japanese were requested to send a delegation to the orderly room in order to present their complaints to this officer.

The Japanese refused to send their spokesman for this purpose and instead sent out a letter, copy of which is attached hereto. The officer from this Headquarters advised the Japanese that he would wait for ten minutes for them to send their representative as above, but after two further requests they refused to take this action.

Immediately after this they proceeded to wreck the room in which they are lodged, first by turning the fire hose out the window on to our sentries and then by breaking windows and the furnishings and breaking a hole from one room to another.

Later in the afternoon one Japanese stated that he would go down to the orderly room and lay his complaints, and such complaints were heard by the Staff Officer from this Headquarters. In effect, the general complaint was that they wished for mass evacuation with their families, and, as a minor complaint, they objected to the stoppage of visitors and supplies.

At approximately 1600 hours the Officer Commanding Vancouver Defences visited the building and sent a message to the Japanese that he was willing to meet a deputation of four or five Japanese in the orderly room and listen to any complaints that they might make. This was definitely refused by the Japanese who demanded

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that the Officer Commanding Vancouver Defences should go up and see them. A second opportunity was given to the Japanese to send a delegation down but they again refused.

In view of the difficult situation, the O.C. Vancouver Defences gave orders that a Company of the 1st Bn. Irish Fusiliers should be brought down to the Immigration Building, and made arrangements for the issue of wooden police sticks to the troops in question. Definite orders were given to the guard Commander that military weapons should not be used but that in the event of any attempt to escape the police batons should be employed.

At approximately 1800 hours the Officer Commanding the guard requested a detail from the Japanese to go down and clean up the mess of broken glass, etc. on the road below, and the Japanese refused to comply with this request. As a result the Officer Commanding the guard gave instructions that no evening meal should be served. Upon receipt of this advice the Japanese again created considerable commotion and did further damage to the building, and, in order to quiet them, two tear gas bombs were thrown into their quarters, which had the required effect. The Commander of the guard acted on his own initiative in using tear gas, and instructions have again been given to him that tear gas is not to be used without instructions from this Headquarters.

At 2100 hours everything seemed to have quieted down.

(Sgd.) "D.R.SARGENT" Brigadier
Commanding Vancouver Defences.

(Author's note: source reference not available. This document was provided to the author while he was doing research in the National Archives, by Roy H.Kawamoto, who was working for the JC Redress Secretariat in Ottawa in November 1989. The author was using as source reference the Archives' "SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE TREATMENT OF JAPANESE CANADIANS, 1941 - 1950" and did not find this document.)

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

8. (COPY)

May 14th, 1942.

To Honourable Minister of Labour

Re: Japanese movement - Pacific Coast

Hastings Park (sic) Trouble - (May 13th, 1942)

The arrangement is that Canadian-born of Japanese racial origin are being moved to road camps on the Trans-Canada Highway near Schreiber, Ontario. The British Columbia Security Commission has experienced considerable trouble inducing Canadian-born Japanese to accept these jobs on a voluntary basis, mainly because they feel they should be privileged to remain in British Columbia because of the fact that they were born in Canada. The plan is to notify the individuals that they must be ready to leave on a certain train and if they do not leave, they are put under detention in the Immigration Hall in Vancouver and if this does not bring about the desired results they are moved to internment camps. Ninety-six have already been moved to internment camps. On May 13th there were a further 106 who had refused to go to Ontario or had committed other breaches of instructions and were detained in the Immigration Hall. In order to show their resentment, these men created a disturbance on May 13th and did some damage to the windows, turned the water hose on the guards and generally created a "rough house". By telephone conversation with Vancouver at 9:P.M. May 13th, the report was received that matters were now under control. These men will be moved to detention camps immediately.

... (19)

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9.

Vancouver,
March 4th, 1942.

Send to list attached -

SITUATION APPEARS TO BRITISH COLUMBIA SECURITY COMMISSION AS FOLLOWS

ONE PROTESTS FROM INTERIOR POINTS ARE SUCH THAT WITHOUT GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION FOR NECESSITY OF COOPERATION FROM THEM IT WILL BE PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO EVACUATE JAPANESE TO ANY OF THESE POINTS STOP APART FROM COMMUNITY PROTESTS ONE OF OUR MOST INFLUENTIAL PAPERS ADVISED THE CHAIRMAN TODAY THEY HAD BEEN REQUESTED BY A GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE TODAY TO SEND REPORTER AND PHOTOGRAPHER TODAY TO THE JASPER AREA AS CONDITIONS WERE SUCH THAT IT WAS ONLY A QUESTION OF TIME BEFORE COMPLETE SABOTAGE OF CNR LINE WOULD BE COMPLETESTOPRIGHTLY OR WRONGLY SUCH RUMORS ARE INCREASING AND AREAS FOR POSSIBLE EVACUATION BECOMING INCREASINGLY MORE DIFFICULT STOP UNDOUBTEDLY IT IS ONLY A QUESTION OF TIME BEFORE GOVERNMENT WILL BE FORCED BY PUBLIC OPINION TO MOVE PRESENT EVACUEES TO SOME OTHER PLACE

TWO AT MOMENT WE BELIEVE WE HAVE COOPERATION OF JAPANESE COMMUNITY WHO WILL WORK WITH US AND FACILITATE OUR EFFORTS HOWEVER WE CAN ONLY EXPECT THIS AMICABLE SITUATION TO CONTINUE PROVIDING THERE IS NO HOSTILE FEELING TOWARDS EVACUEES IN LOCALITIES IN WHICH THEY ARE PLACED STOP GOVERNMENT APPEAL AND EDUCATION OF INTERIOR CITIZENS MAY CORRECT THIS HOSTILE ELEMENT BUT WE QUESTION POSSIBILITY

THREE GOVERNMENT IS FACED WITH THE FOLLOWING (A) CORRECTING HOSTILE ELEMENT (B)

THE NISEI MASS EVACUATION GROUP

MAKING IT COMPULSORY FOR DISTRICTS TO ACCEPT
EVACUEES (C) COOPERATION OF OTHER PROVINCES
(D) WHOLESALE INTERNMENT

FOUR IF COMPULSORY INTERNMENT OR FURTHER
RESTRICTIONS BE PLACED ON JAPANESE WE WILL
LOSE PRESENT COOPERATION AND CREATE AN
ELEMENT OF DISTRUST AND COMPLETE LACK OF
CONFIDENCE WHICH WILL ADD TREMENDOUSLY TO
OUR PRESENT PROBLEM

FIVE THERE ARE SUCH PLACES AS GREENWOOD
KASLO MINTO SHALALTH LUMBERTON AND OTHER
POINTS IN PROVINCE SUFFICIENT UNOCCUPIED
ACCOMMODATION WHICH FOR NOMINAL
EXPENDITURE CAN BE MADE HABITABLE IN SHORT
TIME TO ACCOMMODATE THREE THOUSAND MALES OR
ONE THOUSAND FAMILIES STOP IF MALES ARE
EVACUATED TO THESE AREAS FIRST AND GIVEN
SUFFICIENT BUILDING MATERIAL AND PLACED TO
WORK WITH REASONABLE SUPERVISION WE BELIEVE
THIS ACCOMMODATION CAN BE INCREASED IN SHORT
TIME BY EVACUEES THEMSELVES TO PERHAPS DOUBLE
THIS NUMBER STOP HOWEVER WE AGAIN HAVE TO
CONSIDER COMMUNITY PROTESTS THAT WILL BE
FORTHCOMING IN EVENT THIS PLAN ADOPTED

SIX OTHER ALTERNATIVE IS ROAD CAMPS WHEN WE
WOULD HAVE TO PROVIDE ACCOMMODATION AND
UNDOUBTEDLY BE FACED WITH CONTINUED
COMPLAINTS FROM DISTRICTS IN APPROXIMATE AREA
AND ALSO CRITICISM AND POSSIBLE SABOTAGE SUCH
AS IS NOW EMANATING FROM JASPER

SEVEN ONLY OTHER ALTERNATIVE WHICH WE
REQUEST YOUR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION FOR IS
ESTABLISHMENT IN ISOLATED CROWN GRANT AREAS
OF COMMUNITIES WHERE THESE FAMILIES CAN
REESTABLISH THEMSELVES ON LAND AND IN MINOR
RESTRICTED INDUSTRIAL EFFORT STOP NEEDLESS TO
SAY THIS WILL BE CONSIDERABLY MORE EXPENSIVE

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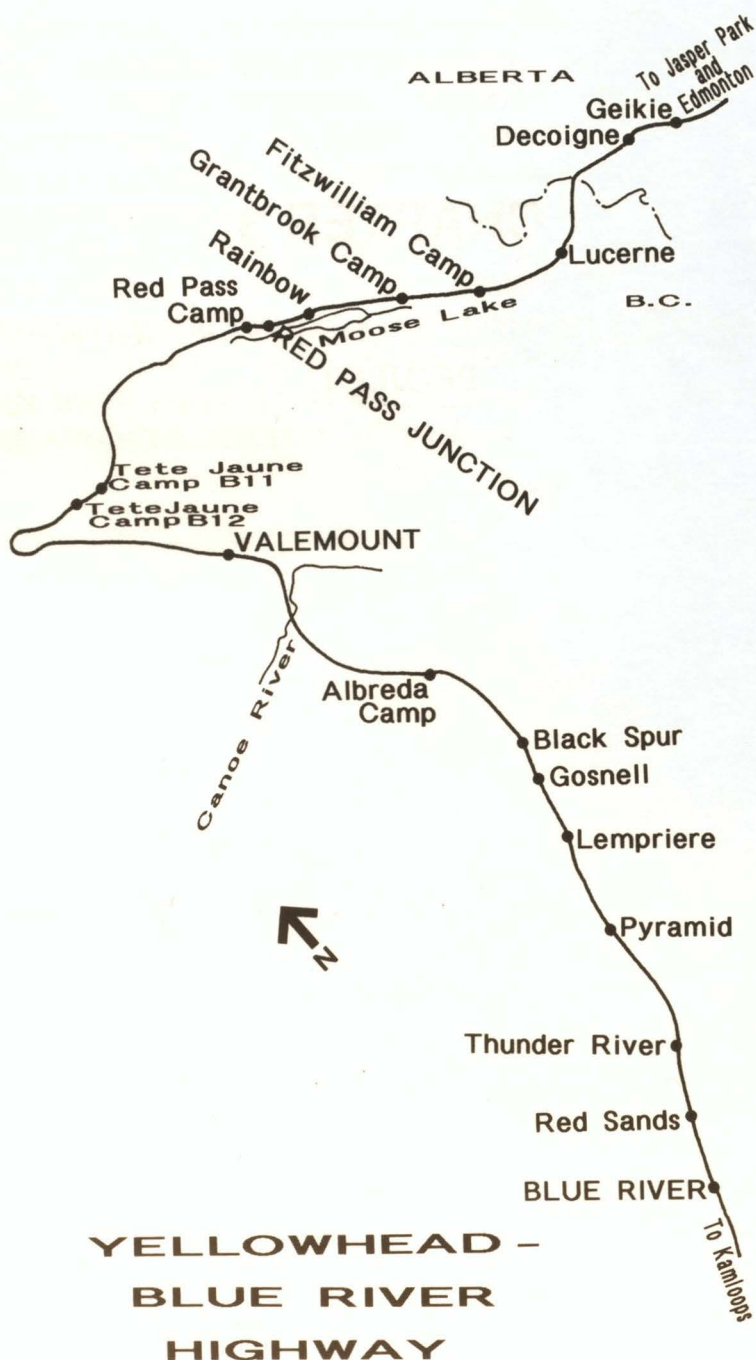
THAN IF POSSIBLITY OF PARAGRAPH FIVE IS ADOPTED
STOP HOWEVER THIS REESTABLISHMENT DESERVES
YOUR VERY SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. WE
RESPECTFULLY REQUEST YOUR SERIOUS
CONSIDERATION TO THE ABOVE IMMEDIATELY STOP
FAILING DEFINITE POLICY TO BE LAID DOWN BY YOU
WE REQUEST HONOURABLE IAN MACKENZIE
HONOURABLE HUMPHREY MITCHELL AND
HONOURABLE LOUIS ST LAURENT ARRANGE TO MEET
THIS COMMISSION HERE ON GROUND SO THAT THEY
CAN HAVE FIRST HAND KNOWLEDGE OF CONDITION
DEMANDING IMMEDIATE ACTION

Austin C. Taylor

Charge: B.C.Security Commission
(ACT:GT) (20)

CHAPTER 3

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT



(P.A.C.)

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

The decision to send the Japanese Nationals to work on this particular road project was made very quickly, on January 27, only six days after the Minister of Labour, Humphrey Mitchell, asked Wardle, the Director of the Surveys and Engineering Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources, to submit a list of road projects in BC which would be of national interest and use manual labour.

The Unemployment Insurance Commission was the agency which was originally charged with the responsibility of arranging for the removal of Japanese and their employment elsewhere. Between the 21st and 31st a number of meetings were held between these departments where they discussed *"ways and means of accommodating Japanese and giving them useful employment on logging, lumbering and farm work, and on road construction"*. Their initial objective was to establish camps as soon as possible which would accommodate 500 men and others which would be capable of accommodating about 2,000 in total. (21)

The first men arrived at Lucerne on February 23, 1942, and were housed temporarily in railway bunk-cars. As the work progressed during 1942, the men would be housed in a total of 17 camps, with a peak population which would only reach 1,400 men despite earlier expectations that 2,000 Nationals would be exiled to these Camps. The camps were: Geikie, Yellowhead, Lucerne, Fitzwilliam, Grantbrook, Rainbow, Red Pass, where there was a hospital and warehouse, Tete Jaune E., Tete Jaune W., Albreda, Blackspur, Gosnell, Lempriere, Pyramid, Thunder River, Red Sands, and Blue River, where the project headquarters were established, together with another warehouse and hospital. However, by the end of the year, only three camps were left open, Lempriere, Pyramid and Thunder River, with a total only 85 men. (10)

As the men arrived at their destinations, they were quick to report their arrival and reactions to their friends or relatives or "The N.C." During this period of upheaval when women and children were being separated from the men in their families, and friends became separated, "The N.C." became the most important medium of information for the members of the Japanese Community

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wherever they were exiled. The safe arrival in Lucerne of the first group of Japanese Nationals who left Vancouver on Monday February 22nd 1942 was chronicled in "The N.C." in a story on February 25th:

*" Rockies 'Better than Expected'
Second Group Heads for Geikie*

Working conditions in distant Lucerne, B.C. where the first group of fifty men arrived safely early Tuesday afternoon after their departure from Vancouver Monday evening, are 'far better than we had expected' according to a telegram received by Tomijiro of the B.C. Fir Ayukai.

The telegram which was signed 'B.C. Ten Group' meaning the ten who went from the B.C. Fir and Cedar Lumber Co. was dated February 24, 3:00 p.m. and read 'Arrived safely at 1:15 today. It is far better than we had expected. Thank you for many kindnesses.'

Another wire sent by Yoshimoto Watanabe foreman of the Lucerne group at 3:47 the same day affirmed the safe arrival of the workers.

Tuesday evening, the second batch of 100 men headed by Hiroshi Maruno left by C.N. for Geikie, Alberta, ten miles west of Jasper.

The contingent included farmers, mill hands, a truck driver, salesman, miner foundry man, railroad trackman, shoemaker, teacher, janitor, logger, grocery clerk, typesetter, cook, gardener, bakery hand, diesel engineer and ordinary laborers.

Of this group 67 are married, 42 of them with one or more children. One man has 6 children, another five, but the average ran between 2 and 3.

At Geikie the men will be divided into two groups of fifty apiece. Heading the first group Yasutaro Sakamoto of Coghlan, B.C. with Yoshisuke Ogura of Paldi acting as interpreter. Hikokichiro Inaba is foreman of the second with Yoshisuke Abe of Hammond interpreter.

The words of 37 year-old Mitsuo Amemori, a former mill-hand at the Mohawk Lumber Co. of New Westminster pretty well summed up the attitude of the men towards their removal. 'I am

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

grateful to Canada, and if the government says we have to get out, we will co-operate'. Mr. Amemori married a second generation girl, and they have four children. His parents are residing in Mission City."

The Edmonton Journal reported the mens' arrival as "JAP WORKERS IN WEST CAMPS", on the same day as "The N.C." . Their story reported that the men were in camps at Lucerne and Rainbow and: "*..... Rainbow is on the shore of Moose Lake, about five miles this side of Red Pass Junction The sites are in the midst of some of the highest peaks in the Canadian Rockies. Both are just west of the Great Divide marked at Yellowhead*".

S/Constable G. Upton, of the RCMP, who was able to speak Japanese, accompanied the second group of 100 men to Geikie on the 24th. He submitted a "SECRET" report to the RCMP Intelligence Section in Vancouver on March 3rd. In his report he mentioned that the head Japanese at the Rainbow camp, said that they were being treated well and had no complaints. The foreman at Lucerne was satisfied with the way the men were working, and that he had not heard any complaints. Rice, which had been requested, had been received at Red Pass on the 28th. Camp regulations for the men were being drawn up in English and Japanese and when completed would be posted in the bunkcars. His conclusion was that the men were comfortably housed and that there was plenty of food. (10) (See Appendix Chapter III, 1., for complete text).

Hill in his covering note to Wood on Upton's report, commented that rumors that the men were not being treated well and that food was short, were circulating at home in the Vancouver Japanese community. Two men, Sasaki and Tsuyuki, were delegated to go to the camps and investigate these rumors. The two men found that the rumors had no foundation in fact and on their return to Vancouver had notices put up in various locations in the community to this effect. (10)

On March 1, the RCMP issued orders to the WW I veterans who had been employed to guard the camps. They were told that their prime purpose was the protection of the railroad right-of-way and

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property. They were to: *"bear in mind that there is not only a danger that the Japanese may commit sabotage, but that some other person may do such an act and hope that the Japanese will be blamed for it"*. They were also instructed to help the camp engineer enforce camp regulations and all orders issued by the Commission. They were to maintain: *"a steady and impartial line of conduct in the discharge of your duties; by clean, sober and orderly habits, and by a respectful bearing to all classes. ... Such conduct will also command respect from the Japanese and make your duties and the handling of them much easier"*. (14)

No sooner had the men been located in camps along the proposed route of the Yellowhead-Blue River highway, when objections were raised to their proximity to railway lines. On March 4th, C.P. Edwards, Deputy Minister of Labour wrote to Commissioner Wood and expressed the concern of the President of the CNR and Mr. Cardin, Minister of Transportation, about the security aspects of the Japanese working along CNR lines. The CNR President had written: *"the presence of enemy nationals along the line of the Canadian National Railway, as it becomes known, will of itself constitute a hazard which might seriously affect the interest of the Canadian National lines in view of the fact that no such risk would be involved in the use of the lines and the services of the competing system"*. Cardin himself had written to St. Laurent that: *"no effort be spared to safeguard the railway and the public interests involved"*. St. Laurent replied quickly to Cardin and assured him that the RCMP security provisions and regulations for camp conduct which included sunset to sunrise curfew would be strictly enforced, and the men would be moved from railroad property as soon as a permanent camp could be established. (5)

On March 5th, "The N.C." printed another exile's account of his trip to the road camp:

"Journey To Rainbow in the Rockies

By Yosie Yasui

(Among the very first group of Nationals going to road work in the Rockies was 19 year-old Yosie Yasui, of Vancouver. Yosie was

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born in Japan but came to Canada a babe in arms of a few months. He attended school in Vancouver, graduating from Fairview Commerce last year. - Editor)

Rainbow, B.C. (via Red Pass) No matter what happens I doubt if I shall ever forget the past week. It has been a week of great significance, something to be remembered from generation to generation of the Japanese - Canadian people in this country. Even now I can clearly picture the masses of people standing on the platform that momentous Monday night, busily saying goodbye, shaking hands, bowing stiffly to those of us on the train. Suddenly the whistle blows, the train jerks and pulls slowly out, and hundreds of voices and hundreds of hands are raised in farewell. But in a few fleeting minutes the throng is a shadowy, indistinct mass in the evening dusk, and then darkness and distance sweep them out of sight. And suddenly I realize more vividly, and more deeply, that we are leaving Vancouver, leaving home and everything dear and familiar, heading out on a new adventure, no one is depressed.

But with a last look, we settle down in our seats. Yet we can not sit still. The prospect of a strange place fills us with curiosity, and we wonder what is in store for us. As I look around the countenances of those aboard, I am struck by the fact that sorrow has given way to a sense of amusement. Some are engaged in heated conversation, some are cheery and jocular, the rest peer out through the double windows, trying to catch a glimpse of something unusual. I cannot see anyone who is depressed.

Excited by the thought of the morrow, most of us spend a sleepless night looking out into the black darkness. As we leave the coast and push into the interior the trees become smaller and smaller and much less abundant. Then we pass Lytton and until we reach Spence's Bridge, we see the most picturesque sight of the whole journey - craggy mountains and the swirling waters deep in the canyon below. It has me gasping with awe.

About this time the news agent arrives. But he does not sell papers this time. It's coffee and sandwiches - at ten and fifteen cents a throw. After the welcome snack, we return to the windows. From here on there's quite a bit of snow.

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Many hours afterwards, after stops and starts and waits, the train stops with a jerk which we feel intuitively is 'it'. We have reached our destination.

Stepping off the train we scan the place before us. Surrounding us on all sides are towering mountains while a fairly large lake lies to the south of us.

So This is Rainbow

On the tracks right before our eyes are the bunk cars where we are to stay for the present. And to the east a short distance away is a house for the section gang, the word 'Rainbow' the name of this flag station painted on the side. And that's all there is to 'Rainbow'.

After being assigned to our bunk cars, ten to each, we unpack and rest up for the morning. For the next two days, we carry on with odds and ends. But on the third day, we start to work clearing land for the building of our camp. When the camp is built perhaps we shall call it 'Pot of Gold.' "

On March 9th, "The N.C." printed another exile's report, which is reproduced with parts omitted for some brevity:

"Men O.K., in Rocky Road Camps

by Yoshimitsu Higashi (Author's note: former Business Manager of 'The N.C.')

(Special Correspondent From Jasper and way points)

Red Pass Junction ... where the ribbon of steel of the Canadian National Railway streaking northward meets the line from Prince Rupert ... in the cradle of the mighty Fraser ... land of Bondage?

.....

My watch read 4:40 p.m. as the panting locomotive three and a half hours behind schedule, pulled its long load into the depot.

'Look over there. There's a Nihon-jin!' (Japanese) One of the men peering out of the coach window suddenly exclaimed in surprise.

We crowded to the windows to look for ourselves. A few hastened to the loading platform, anxious to exchange a few words.

'Anyone got a newspaper these fellows can have?' someone on the station platform shouted. 'They're starving for news from Vancouver and the coast.'

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A few minutes later as the train jerked its way out, conversation within the car became charged with excitement. 'They say it isn't bad at all ... work not too hard ... grub good ...' Smiles broke out, grins broadened. Eyes lightened up. Faces once taut and strained with worry, relaxed, became animated.

A new feeling of hope was felt, and even the weather gave promise of better things to come. My companion pointed to the sky, saying with a smile, 'the sky's clearing'. And sure enough a patch of blue appeared in the hitherto dour, gray ceiling. Simultaneously the setting sun shot its slanting rays over the summit of a mountain as if in parting blessing.

Our arrival at Geikie an hour later was an anti-climax.

Our Mansion at Geikie

Geikie, Alberta (pronounced hereabouts as Geekee) is just eight miles west of Jasper and the camp for the nationals is located a few hundred yards away from the Geikie railway siding (Camp address may be obtained at The New Canadian)

The terrain is on the rocky side and much barer than at the coast. Trees are dwarfs compared to the familiar giants of the coast, averaging 30 to 40 feet in height, and six to seven inches in thickness.

It's mountain time here, too. Yesterday soon after we arrived, we advanced our time pieces one hour so that gives us two hours to pick up again when and if we return home again after this is all over.

By the time the second group of workers arrived (March 3) the first unit had just completed building six 'tents' each with accommodation for 18. ...

Squatting in the middle of the 15 by 25 foot room is a big heater which gives out plenty of warmth if properly fed. Wooden trunks are piled up on three sides of the room, with straw mattresses. And since the men have come fully prepared for sub-zero weather and since the stove is kept burning all night, no one needs shiver in his sleep. ...

... As for the amount, it's comparable to Powell Street Cafes. Fish is served two or three times a week. When one considers that

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board at present, is pegged at 75¢ per day the cooks aren't doing bad at all. ...

And The Weather

As for the weather, it was freely rumored that the snow was several feet thick and men were nigh on to freezing up here.

Actually the snow is about six inches deep. And the climate is dry, so that although the thermometer may dip below zero at night, it's not much colder than in Vancouver. One feels the chill mostly in the morning and at night. One man remarked 'store ni kane mokasasete, bakamuta.' (he started a store to make money, he failed.)

It will be another two weeks before the road construction really gets under way. At present the road is frozen solid ...

Present plans call for the construction of camps (similar to the one already established here) every four miles or so along the Jasper-Tete Jaune (pronounced Tee Joan) stretch. The road itself will be constructed for two lane traffic and will most probably be tar-surfaced."

As the first groups of men, working out of the railroad bunk-cars, got the tent camps ready for the housing of more men, the pace of removal was increased and on the same day "The N.C." reported on:

"Crumbling Ruins

All Nationals Ordered to Roadwork.

Vancouver March 9. - Speed up in the removal of all Japanese nationals was announced today, ... J.H.McVety, regional supervisor for the employment service, said that extensive accommodation was now available. Groups will leave Tuesday and Wednesday following up those who left Friday and Saturday."

In late February, MacNamara wrote a letter to Wood in which he suggested certain regulations which the RCMP establish to govern the conduct of the men in the road camps. Wood's response was to take a cautious approach. " ... the Japanese Nationals proceeding to these camps are doing so voluntarily, I am dubious about imposing any drastic regulations without first referring the matter

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to the Taylor Commission, otherwise such regulations might prove embarrassing to the said Commission". He sent MacNamara's letter and his reply to MacNamara, to Assistant Commissioner Mead, of the Security Commission, as well as Hill, adding a comment, "I am opposed to any drastic regulations as these people are not internees". Hill at this time replied that he concurred with Wood that drastic regulations are not called for because as reported by Upton ", ... these people who are naturally well disciplined, are behaving themselves in a proper manner. It is quite likely that the institution of any drastic regulation may result in some resentment on their part". (14)

On Thursday March 12th, "The N.C." reported:

"Move to Camp Gaining Speed

Evacuation of Japanese nationals from the coastal area continues to gather momentum, as larger and larger groups are rolling out to work on the road building program planned for them.

A record number of 130 left Wednesday night for Gosnell and Lempriere, points near Blue River, C.N. divisional point in the N. Thompson valley. Camps are now being established on the Blue River-Jasper highway section.

A total of 625 nationals have now been moved, all of whom have been placed in this northern district near the B.C. - Alberta boundary.

Plans are going ahead for groups shortly to go to Princeton, to work on the Hope-Princeton road it was understood today.

There is little likelihood that any evacuees will go to work on the Alaska highway through northern British Columbia.

Japanese nationals are arriving in Vancouver regularly, where they are required to report to the Department of Labor for assignment to the camps."

On March 12th, Wood wrote to MacNamara letting him know that the OC in Vancouver had written to him recommending that any regulations made to control the men in the camps not be too drastic. From all the reports received, the men have been well

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disciplined and conducting themselves well. Regulations which were too strict might cause unnecessary resentment.

Wardle recommended that on the basis of the reports, ordinary construction camp regulations be in effect with one exception, and that was that the railway right of way and property be placed out of bounds. (14)

On the same day, the Superintendent of the Jasper National Park, J.A. Wood, wrote to the Controller of the National Parks Bureau concerning complaints, about the Japanese, originating with the Canadian Legion in Jasper. Essentially, the complaints centered around the presence of Japanese camp workers in the town, and fear of what the men might do. Wood's recommendations were that out-of-bounds areas be established, 24 rifles and ammunition be provided to the Veterans Volunteer Reserve Company, and that the camps have an adequate number of guards. (10) (See Appendix Chapter III, 2., for complete text)

On Saturday March 14th, "The N.C." reported:

"All's Well at Rainbow Says Yosie

'Tell the folks back home that we are getting along fine, and we hope that everyone is keeping his chin up'! is the message that Yosie Yasui sends along from Rainbow, B.C. in the heart of the Canadian Rockies. His most recent dispatch describing his new home follows.

Rainbow, B.C. - All this still seems like a dream, I still have the feeling that at any moment I'll wake up in the morning to all the hustle and bustle of Vancouver, the conveniences of a modern city, my home my 'bunch' and everything that we did. But as the days go by, the quiet simple life of this desolate (?), the never dreamed of experiences becoming more and more real.

Rainbow is just a siding, 550 miles from Vancouver and about an hour's ride from Mt. Robson, the highest peak in the Rockies. Typical of most places along the northern railway line it is surrounded by snow-capped mountains. To the south however is a fairly large mountain lake named Moose Lake. The section gang's house seems to be, under ordinary conditions, about the only

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dwelling in this mountainous territory. Our 'bunk cars' standing on a C.N. siding, complete the picture. Snow has been falling at intervals for some time now, but it doesn't pack deeply. The temperature is going up day by day, and just now it is quite mild.

Beside the five bunk cars which we occupy, we have for our meals, a kitchen and a 'dining car'. The engineers, the carpenters and the officials, too, have their own cars. And just yesterday, another five empty bunk cars were added, so that we are anticipating another group of men here soon.

Each bunk car houses ten men. It has a small table, long windows, chairs and a wash basin. Coal oil lamps provide light and a wood stove keeps us warm. The beds consist of five upper and five lower berths, complete with springs and mattresses; and it is in these quarters we spend most of the time if we are not working.

Mornings at 6:45 the wake up gong rouses us from sleep, we dress leisurely, but as soon as the breakfast gong sounds, we dash to the dining car. This is an ordinary car, a little longer than our 'bedroom'. A long narrow table extends from one end to the other. And happy to relate, the food on the whole is excellent. We even have rice once a day!

Work begins at eight and ends at five, with time out for lunch. So far no one has had to break his back. We have been clearing land for the construction of our work camps, and also for the building of the road. We split up into small gangs, and go to our separate working places. Already we have cleared a considerable stretch, in spite of the general shortage of tools. A short time ago we started the foundations of our new homes. Everything looks to be off to a good start.

After work is through the fun begins. Card games, sing song, writing letters, reading, noisy arguing, harmonica playing, and even that abominable 'shakuhachi' music. This all goes on nearly until ten, when all lights must be out. Yes folks, even out here in the wilds we have a curfew.

Sunday is our day off when most of us try to catch up with everything. Washing clothes is the chief task for we have no other time to do it ... no, not even Monday.

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But the boys are taking everything in their stride. They are trying to make the best of their stay here, and on the whole are quite content. The officials, too, have been very co-operative, they do everything possible for us. Yours till next time, Yosie.

P.S. Rainbow has no store or p.o. so we have to go to Red Pass, about six miles away, to shop and collect our mail. We have seen a number of trains carrying groups of our compatriots eastward."

"The N.C." reported Tuesday March 17th, the quickening pace of the removal of Japanese Nationals from the coast:

"Over Thousand Nationals Moved

Removal of some 1700 Japanese nationals between the ages of 18 and 45 from the protected zone has passed the two-thirds mark with over 1000 placed in road camps on the Hope-Princeton road, the North Thompson highway, and the B.C.-Alberta Jasper route. Latest contingent numbered 45 workers, who left Tuesday night bound for Thunder River, Lempriere and Albreda, points on the North Thompson road north from Blue River.

One hundred workers are now established in a camp 11 miles west Princeton, and an equal number arrived at Hope, Monday to work eastward on the route of the highway through the (.?). Mount Allison Pass."

The Ottawa Journal reported on the men in the road camps in a March 18th story titled: *"3,400 Japs Bridging Gaps in Roads Through Rockies"*. The story began by stating that the men were working on two projects which would keep them busy, out of harm's way for the duration and be desirable from a military standpoint. Because the men were *"working smoothly"* the story very prematurely stated: *"the Japanese problem in this country had been successfully met"* as opposed to the *"problem of the wandering Japanese"* which *"was fast nearing a crisis in the U.S. last week"*.

At the time of their story, they reported the expectation of 2,000 men at work on the Yellowhead-Blue River project, 1,400 on the Hope-Princeton project and a further 600 at work on a new project, the Revelstoke-Sicamous road. The story concluded with the

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somewhat optimistic statement: *"It is expected the projects will be completed some time in 1943"*.

On the 24th, the Edmonton Journal reported in a p.1 story, *"Jasper Residents Protest Jap Camps"*. The story reported that the residents had safety concerns about the CNR line and the town itself. The nearest camp from which the men would come was at Geikie about eight miles to the west and no more than five men were allowed to visit at one time, out of a total complement of 100. The men would go to Jasper to pick up supplies they could not get at the camp, as well as attend to personal problems such as medical or dental care. In addition of course, the chance to get away from the camp environment was always welcome.

At this time, there was a total of 872 men housed in nine camps along the project's route, and five of them, were immediately adjacent to the Canadian National Railway right-of-way:

"Geikie, Alberta

Decoigne East, 400 yards away

Lucerne, 3/4 mile from CN line

Rainbow, 200 yards from CN line

Blacksmill (Gosnell) 200 yards from CN line". (22)

On Friday March 20th, "The N.C." printed *"A Review of Evacuation by K.W."* an extract of which follows:

Expanding Works Projects

... On the other hand, the movement of men to expanding works projects continues to gather speed, and some announcement on the evacuation of the second generation is expected soon. Over 1000 nationals of a total of probably not more than 2500 able-bodied men in the protected area, have already been moved, chiefly to the Blue River-Jasper area in the B.C. Rockies. The Hope-Princeton highway has absorbed about 200, and men are expected to go to work definitely on the Revelstoke-Sicamous section of the Trans-Canada. Work on the Cariboo road too has been proposed.

Ontario's action in offering to absorb some 3,000 male evacuees in forestry work has opened up many more jobs, and work seems assured in Alberta beet fields. The R.C.M.P.

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registration shows a total of 3296 Japanese Nationals in the entire province, some 3290 Canadian-born over the age of 16, and 2111 naturalized citizens. By far the majority are located within the defence area, but of these, an indefinite number are not able-bodied, whether because of illness or of old age.

The actual policy of dispatching Japanese nationals to work camps is now being extended to men over 45. ... "

In the same issue, the following report was printed, most of which follows:

"Report From Lempriere

(A report from the third of our road camp correspondents, Kinzie Tanaka, former vice-president of the Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizens League. Born in Japan while his mother was visiting that country, Kinzie grew up and went to school in South Vancouver and speaks hardly a word of Japanese. Legally, however, as in the case of our other correspondents, he is a Japanese 'national'.)

As you pull into Lempriere, the bunk cars are strung along a siding, twenty all together. Thirteen bunk cars are for the men, one car for the camp Head and his men, one for the tools, which also houses the R.C.M.P. representatives, of which there are three at present. There are also 4 cars for the mess room and the kitchen for the 130 men here.

Lempriere is a bit of a station, hardly worth calling it even a station. There are about eight houses inhabited by the families of section men, and a school house. I should imagine it could hold 30 pupils, but business is bad and they have only about 12. I guess production is low.

We are cosily nestled in a valley of the mountains. It is very lovely country, clean, clear air which is most invigorating. I shudder to think of Powell Street now for it is such a contrast. We should be very healthy up here.

There was 18 inches of snow here when I arrived, but it is getting mild, so the snow will soon melt away. I understand it has been a very mild winter this year. You can go outside with just a sweater, and not feel cold. Most of the men wear those 'tent' coats when working and we all wear some sort of rubber shoes for they are the

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warmest in this snowy weather, for your feet are kept dry. It is not even cold at night. I have not had to shiver once. So much for the weather.

When I first came here, I thought I wouldn't know anyone, but for the first three days I kept bumping into people I have come across during my more youthful(?) days. One fellow was quite surprised to see me in a camp for Japanese nationals, greeting me with 'Say, Kinzie, you Jap too?'

... Our new camp is going to be situated alongside the Thompson River (North) amidst lovely surroundings of trees, just like a summer camp. There are going to be two bunkhouses for 54 men each, one mess house for about 100 men, One staff bunkhouse, and one storehouse-office. Six buildings in all and if we get started soon we should be thinking of moving into them in about one month. The men here are all very pleased with the whole thing, they're like a bunch of good natured boys. They like it up here.

At present living quarters are rather cramped, 10 men to a car, and when you consider all the baggage here and there, there is not much room left. The sanitary facilities are very limited just now - no bath, no tub for washing clothes, one hand basin to each car, a latrine in the woods. They have to cart water on a rail road push car up the line a way to fetch water from a spring - good water, too ...

... Mail comes twice a week, and we haven't heard a thing from Vancouver yet, so the boys are anxious for their families."

On Wednesday April 15th, there was another report printed in "The N.C." from Kinzie Tanaka:

"They are Building up Canada

(by Kinzie Tanaka from Lempriere, B.C.)

We really have a very good group of men: the youngest is 22 years old and the oldest is 67. The youngest fellow was a farmer before coming here and the oldest was a boarding-house keeper. We have only three men that are over 50 years of age, the rest range around 34 to 44. So you see we have a very virile group of men.

We have men from all kinds of occupations, in fact every job that pops up we can find a man that has had experience in it. Our foreman is quite pleased with the boys in general. Millworkers

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predominate with a list of 33, gardeners come second with 30, farmers come next with 22. The rest are a heterogeneous group ranging from loggers and shopkeepers to boat builders and fish collectors. We have only 15 single fellows and the rest are married. The average number of children these men have is about 3, although one fellow has a following of 8, which is good going for a man of 44 summers.

There are only two mess cars which makes it necessary to have two shifts at mealtimes. About 7 o'clock in the morning you hear the clanging of the dinner gong and if you happened to be outside, you would see the men literally pouring out of the various cars headed for the place that satisfies the inner man. If you took a peep inside one of the cars, you would see the stampede for bowls of mush and then they hasten to a seat on the benches where in front of them on the tables is a plate of bacon and hard boiled eggs, fried potatoes, etc. The part that gets me is you rush in, eat as much as you can or are able and then beat it out in order to make ready for the second shift. I can safely say that many a stomach takes a beating. However, when we get down to the camp where our new mess house is completed, there will be room enough for the whole group at one sitting.

Our washday is Sunday and it certainly is some washday. You see we have no washtubs up here yet and the fellows have to use hand basins and small tubs to wash in. Some of the more hardy men take their soiled clothes down to the river and wash in the ice cold North Thompson. I don't know how they do it, but every Sunday you see some heading there. I wouldn't guarantee the quality of their work, or say exactly what shade of tattle-tale gray they produce. Some of the fellows tie their clothes to a rope and let the swift current of the river do the work for them. The results in my opinion, are highly dubious. You can't say that they are not ingenious, though. Necessity is the father of invention and so is laziness.

You may have wondered just what we have been doing since coming here and just what has been accomplished. Well for the first week or so the men didn't have any tools issued to them from the government because the various departments were very

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rushed, so we had to beg borrow and steal a few shovels to clear snow.

Now we have built a mile of road from the railway station to the campsite. We have just about completed the 100 man messhouse and one bunkhouse. The other buildings are well started also. We have also nearly completed a bridge across the North Thompson river about 150 feet long.

This work is all done by human labour. It is wonderful what the united effort of man can accomplish even without the help of mechanical means. The labour of these men is being recorded in the very earth of Canada and it cannot in future years be said that they have not helped to build up this country. The men of this camp have been sent here through necessity of coastal defence. It was certainly not of their seeking, but these men on the whole have pitched in and are doing their level best at the tasks they are assigned.

There has been no trouble of any kind occurred since coming here and perhaps it is because we have a very understanding Foreman who tries always to be 'square' with the men. We are also fortunate to have a very level headed Japanese foreman who has done a great deal to make things run smoothly. All in all, I believe we have one of the best camps on the project.

The greatest worry of the men at the present time is the future of their families. They are always anxious about what will happen to their dependents and where they will be sent, or if they will ever see them again for the duration of the war. This is only human and it cannot be side-tracked. If the progressive development of this project is to be maintained, this problem will have to be worked out. A man, no matter of what creed or color is bound to be very concerned for the safe-keeping of his children and his wife. It is a tribute to these men that they have done as well as they have, considering their mental duress."

On the 21st, the following notice was printed in "The N.C.":

"Write in English to Road Camps

Vancouver (official) - When writing to friends or relatives in any of the numerous Work Projects in connection with people of Japanese origin it is very desirable that such letters should if at all

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possible, be written in the English language. When other languages are used an unavoidable and sometimes lengthy delay in delivery to the addressee is occasioned."

The same day, "The NC" also reported:

"Large Movement East Tuesday

Vancouver - One of the largest contingent of workers yet to leave the city for highway camps pulled out Tuesday evening from the Canadian Pacific Railway siding at Hastings Park.

Numbering over 150 men, the majority are bound for Schreiber, Ontario. Smaller numbers will go to camps at Three Valley and Taft, on the Sicamous - Revelstoke section of the Trans - Canada.

This is the first group to leave since last Wednesday and Thursday when similar movements to the highway camps in the same destinations took place.

Included in the Schreiber bound party were a large number of volunteer evacuees, as well as a good number of those who failed to make previous train connections."

It was on this same day that "The N.C." reported that the paper was being taken over by the Commission, for what turned out to be a period of about three months, so that the Commission's official announcements and other news could be widely disseminated, in both English and Japanese, to the Japanese community in Canada.

On the 23rd, Mead, a Commissioner of the BCSC, sent a letter to C.H. Walker, the Supervising Engineer in Banff, advising him that the RCMP would be sending Engineers, in charge of the Highway Camps, Order No.10 which were "ORDERS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF WORKERS IN HIGHWAY CAMPS." The "Orders" were printed in English and Japanese and were to be posted where everyone could read them. (19) (See Appendix Chapter III, 3., for complete text.)

On the 25th, another camp report was received by "The N.C."

"News from Camp at Tete Jaune

(The following is a translation from a letter received from a former Vancouver newspaperman now at Tete Jaune B.C.)

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I read of the events in Vancouver through The New Canadian of April 10th and have no doubt that everyone is doing his best. It is two weeks since we came to Tete Jaune where we now have a gang of 100 men.

Twenty-one year old Tets Uno is the only young man in the group. For the rest there is 29 year old Sato, who incidentally is the only other man in his twenties, several men in their thirties and the balance all over 40. In fact there are 26 men between the ages of 60 and 70. Ours is an old man's group, averaging in age 56 years. I myself am considered very young. To see a young man working in this group strikes one as oddly as if a man of different race had wandered into the gang.

Three times a week our 'young' man carries our mail into Tete Jaune, eight miles from camp. Though it is called a town, Tete Jaune consists of one station and a store. In comparison, since our camp site comprises a total of five buildings, 'our town' could be termed a great city.

Food is plentiful in our camp and the place itself is quite comfortable.

Among us are many 'haiku' [17 syllable (5-7-5) poem] and 'waka' (31 syllable poem) poets for among us are men from every walk of life. As there are 26 men over the age of 60, I could not have the heart to ask for easy work. Consequently I am engaged in clearing brush with Mr. Kunimatsu Yagi of Kitsilano, and Mr. Oki. In the kitchen you will find Mr. Moriya, formerly of the New Pier, working as cheerfully as ever. The cooks are Mr. Moriya, Seiji Takahashima from Port Essington, with several assistants.

In the clear stream which flows in front of our camp, and which, I am told, divides ultimately into the Fraser and Skeena rivers, you will find trout in great numbers which make excellent sashimi.

Our camp itself lies 25 miles north-west of the main C.N.R. tracks. Every time a train from or to Prince Rupert passes by, you will find many heads poking out of the windows, and many eyes gazing wistfully upon the train. For we have little contact with the outside world.

I was glad that the first private mail ever to reach our camp was from my eldest daughter. Situated as we are, so far from the hustle

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and bustle of ordinary life, life consists of felling and burning big trees, we are so much concerned about those dear to us. Every morning a lively conversation ensues about the dreams of the night before... "

Despite the seemingly upbeat reports which were being printed in "The N.C.", the men were beginning to become restless. None of them had imagined that their voluntary separation from wives and children was to be a permanent condition for the duration of the war; which now seemed to be happening. On May 1st, Wood sent a very prophetic letter to Keenleyside at External Affairs. He mentioned unrest and dissatisfaction in the camps, and concluded by stating: " ... (3) *The policy in the United States is to evacuate entire families, and my personal opinion is that our policy of evacuating males to work camps and thus breaking up the family, is a mistake, and will lead to increasing unrest, if not trouble, in the camps already established*". (17)

More road camp news was printed in "The N.C." Saturday May 2nd, in "*Letters to the Editor*

Editor, The New Canadian -

Dear Sir: Although there is still snow around the river, we can definitely feel the approach of spring. Our camp is five miles from Red Pass, along the Prince Rupert-Edmonton C.N.R. tracks but far from the sight and sound of human habitation.

Majority of the men in this camp are from Vancouver and naturally our talk centres around the events in the city. It has already been reported that this is an old man's camp, including men from every walk of life. Working hours are from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.. We have a good foreman all are doing their part.

The other day we had a conference of bunk houses. So far we have had no trouble. There are no women and no liquor. We've had no sickness and no injuries thus far.

We are fully in accord with the policy of The New Canadian and every success to the Naturalized Canadian Japanese Association and to the Japanese Canadian Citizens Council goes from this campsite in the wilderness.

Asushi Toyofuku

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Tete Jaune, B.C.

Mr. M. Yamamoto writes from Tete Jaune as well, ... Today during lunch hour while clearing brush, the fire spread to our tools, and some of the men lost their sweaters.....

We have had a visit from a doctor at our camp today, and some who had trouble with their teeth were instructed to see a dentist who will visit the camp. Everyone is eagerly waiting, hoping that he will be a Japanese doctor."

A new feature appeared in "The N.C." on Saturday May 9th, called:

"The Public Forum

Build Garden and Farm at Tete Jaune

(From the 'Old Men's' camp at Tete Jaune far up in Northern B.C. comes the most cheerful letter we've read since December 7)

It is only a month now since a group of Japanese evacuees began a new camp life here near the village of Tete Jaune. Our neat and tidy men have cleared the place all around the camp leaving only a few trees and following the plans designed by some of our ex-gardeners have built a splendid garden. We have planted it with sweet peas, asters, California poppies, cosmos, dahlias, and other flowers. Before long, our camp may become a park for Tete Jaune.

Proud as we are over our garden, we take even greater pride in the newly established farm which has been cultivated by a number of ex-gardeners under the direction of Mr. Tomesuke Tateishi.

In making our farm we borrowed two farm horses, which to us seemed to be of very low spirits. Upon inquiry we learned that one had reached the ripe old age of 24 years and the other 22 years. Old horses for an old man's camp! We had a good laugh over that.

On the piece of land we have cultivated, taking respectful care of our old horses, we planted not only potatoes, carrots, onions, lettuce, spinach but such Japanese vegetables as Hakusai, (white cabbage) Daikon, (white icicle radish) negi (green onion) and gobo (burdock root).

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I am told we might expect a crop of 250 sacks of potatoes and two tons of onions on a conservative estimate. Everyone is expecting plenty of vegetables this summer.

Moose and deer abound around our camp, but hunting is prohibited. We agree that it is impossible to catch them bare handed and so perhaps we will turn to raising pigs."

Again on the 14th, more news in "The Public Forum

Red Pass Organizes Baseball

Red Pass, B.C. - A voice from the lonely mountains - Two long months have passed since we came into this lonely cold mountainous country.

Red Pass is a junction of the C.N.R. mainline and the Prince Rupert line. The so called town of Red Pass has one Post Office, a beer parlor, a general store and a newly built hospital. Last week the headquarters of the Japanese Nationals Highways Camps moved into our town from Jasper, Alta.

In Red Pass we have two camps, each with fifty men. All the men are working mostly on the roads, some in the cookhouse and mess, others around the camp.

Our living quarters comprise:

(1) Two large 'Nihon buro' (Japanese bath tub) - an ultra modern bathroom somewhat like the public washrooms we find in the department stores in Vancouver.

(2) A large kitchen with plenty of hot and cold running water.

(3) Oh but the bed, OUCH! A city slicker like myself can only sigh deeply for a spring bed with a Restmore mattress rather than these cold hard boards. But even in this bed believe it or not, I can still dream of the wife and children I left behind.

Last Sunday we started a baseball league, including two teams from each camp, and one team from our occidental friends here. The smack of the ball and bat certainly bring back memories of good old Powell St. grounds.

One of our teams played against the Occidental team from Red Pass, and ahem! - we won 6-5. Not bad, eh? We're thinking of naming our teams the Red Pass Giants, Mt. Robson Tigers, Rocky Rabbits etc. Any suggestions from our readers, especially Mr. 'Rinyu' Yamamoto of Tete Jaune, who boasts of having the best

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vegetable garden in all the camps. We'll challenge him with the best baseball team. How's that Mr. Yamamoto.

Report From Red Sands

On behalf of our Nationals camp here at Red Sands, I am writing to let you and our friends know how things are with us.

To begin with this camp Red Sands, is five miles east of Blue River which is the divisional point on the Canadian National Railway next to Kamloops. To us it is a city in comparison with the camps we have seen around this district.

About eight years ago this site was a relief road camp. From here to Blue River the road has been cleared and levelled. Some short scrubby bushes have grown up here and there on the road so it is not yet open for traffic. We are doing our best to clear the bushes, so that trucks may travel to and from Blue River.

In the opposite direction from our camp to Thunder River, the roadway is cleared but not levelled, so that it will take some time before it can be used.

Our camp comprises nine tent houses which include the kitchen and the mess house. About twelve persons sleep in each of the tent houses.

Trip Down The Line

The first group of 36 men here came from Albreda a week ahead of us. Our group of 40 was transferred from Gosnell a few days ago so that we are really newcomers. We moved from Gosnell because the bunkhouses which were built could only accommodate 100 of the 140 men who had been settled there previously in bunk cars.

We had a fine trip down the line in a freight car. At Lempriere the men came running out of their bunkhouses when they spotted us. Still further down our train stopped for a few minutes at Thunder River. To our delight, we were able to get off to exchange a few words of greeting.

It was a sight for sore eyes to see a bunch of our own men at these camps and have a chance to talk to them. You're sure to bump into someone you have known before at home.

Most of the men here at Red Sands are from Woodfibre, Port Alberni, Prince Rupert, Seymour Logging site, and other coastal

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points. Our group ranges from 27 to 62 years of age, with the majority in their thirties and forties.

The food here isn't too bad, but could be better. The worst pinch we ever feel is in sugar rationing. Most of the time we have to be contented with corn syrup for our tea.

A Visit From Three Bears

The other night we had an interesting experience. Three grizzly bears, a mother and two cubs came and ransacked our much-rationed meat house, and got away with most of it. If this keeps up we'll have to set a trap and have bear meat for a change.

One of our fellows here is Ken Saito of Fraser Mills and we are proud of his artistic ability. He's a handy man, does the barbering, writing, sketching and so forth. No one has a camera, but he makes up for it by drawing excellent sketches of us.

We understand we are not likely to stay here for the winter. They say it snows about six or seven feet and in that case our tent-houses will be squashed as flat as a pancake. Possibly we may go further south to a place called Birch Island for the winter. We shall be glad to go, to see different places, and counteract the monotony of existence in a road camp. We're all hoping that the day will come soon when we will be able to go back home to Vancouver again. When that day comes, we'll be the first to reach there."

More news again on the 16th in "The Public Forum

Springtime in the mountain

Ichiro Matsushita reports from Lempriere

Lempriere, B.C. On May 1, the men in camp here finally moved from our bunk cars into the newly-built camp. In our new camp there are two bunk houses which accommodate 54 men in each, a dining hall, an office and a warehouse.

Interestingly enough, since we used fresh lumber in building our bunk houses, the more we burn our stove to keep us warm, the draftier we get. Fresh lumber shrinks as it dries. But our philosophers feel that we should be able to stand the chill at night, since we can at least gaze at the beautiful moon.

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In front of our camp flows the swift running Blue River and across this river we have constructed a new bridge, so that we may go across to the other side where the road is under way.

* * * *

We feel we are very fortunate to be surrounded by such beautiful country and believe we are right in saying that we have the most beautiful scenery of all the road camps.

And now everything seems to declare that spring is here at last. The snow has gone, the budding leaves are green on the trees, the mosquitoes buzzing and the frogs croaking.

There were a great many things that I had planned to do at camp while I was still in Vancouver. But somehow or other the only thing I have accomplished so far is to build a pipe for smoking, and compose a great many Haiku (seventeen syllable verses)

I think it must be spring

* * * *

Since all the men in our camp were very co-operative in everything, and since we have a very understanding foreman, we all feel much at home. We intend to make this camp an ideal work camp. To further this intention we held a meeting last Sunday and there decided to form an organization to carry on with the good work.

Co-operation at camp B-1

H. Ejima writes from Camp B-1, Yellowhead, B.C.

How quickly time flies. It is already two months since we came here. For the first month we were sleeping in bunk cars, but since April 25, we have been sleeping in tent houses, which accommodate 18 men to each tent.

We had 150 men during the first month, but later 50 were transferred to Decoigne. Many of the men have also left to join their families on the beet farms.

At present half the workers are engaged in road work, the other half as carpenters, gardeners, and 'maki kiri.' (wood cutters)

Our camp so far has been marked by thorough co-operation on the part of all the men, much to the gratification of the officials and the R.C.M.P.

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This plateau-like country is still very cold in the morning. It seems as if springtime is still far away ...

* * * *

Bachelors at Rainbow

from Rainbow, B.C. via Masao Takaoka:

Even in this camp so far away up high in the Rockies, we are glad to report that spring that wonderful and best time of the year has not forgotten us, and indeed is now on a visit with us. For instance, Moose Lake, which is located just in front of our camp was a mass of ice 2 1/2 feet thick. Now it is almost melted away.

Rainbow for your information is six miles north of Red Pass and six miles south of Great Brooks ...

We easy going bachelors of necessity, are taking things easy, working in good spirits every day possible ... "

With the coming of Spring in the mountain camps, came the first of many reports in "The N.C." about one of the favourite sporting activities of the young Nisei in the camps. On May 23rd, the following appeared:

*"Red Pass Ball Team Preps to meet Rainbow Nine on 24th
by H. Doi*

Red Pass, B.C. May 19 - Spring has also come to Red Pass. And as we view the snow capped peaks of mountain ranges as we walk, there are buds of wild flowers unknown to us, peeping up beneath our treading feet.

Enthusiasm for baseball has also swept over this camp and on May 17, a game was played between a group of men who came here first and the later arrivals.

The team of first arrivals had Yoshimaru Abe of the Hammond baseball team as pitcher and his elder brother, Mitsuo, as the catcher. They were supported in the field by a team of high spirited youths.

The other team managed by Mr. T. Fujino, former member of the Asahis, was powered by Tokuzo Wakabayashi of the Kitsilano YMCA on the mound and Ijima behind the plate. Other members of this team included such vets of the Mikado Baseball Team as

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Sadajiro and Shinjiro Nishikawa, Torazo Kinishi, old, but still fearless of the ball.

The game opened with the popular third baseman of the former Asahis, Junji Ito acting as umpire. Although it was a fine game in which no score was registered until the fourth inning, the fourteen runs collected in the subsequent innings by the 'later arrivals' team were enough to cinch the game, the result was a defeat for the younger team.

At present the boys are undergoing a stiff practice as they expect to play a team from Rainbow on the holiday, May 24th.

In the evening the camp is noisy with the games of 'go' (a strategy game played with black and white buttons) and 'shogi' (Japanese chess). Most of the 'go' players seem to be poor hands at the game, but among the 'shogi' group are quite a number of strong competitors.

Under the advocacy of Mr. Kawasaki, former co-editor of the Tairiku Nippon, grand 'go' and 'shogi' contests are being planned for one of these Sundays.

A month ago this camp purchased a radio and now we have news and music to comfort our tired bodies in the evenings. Mr. Densaku Kondo is our news interpreter. His clear voiced explanations are giving everyone here much contentment.

One of our greatest prides here is the fact that we have an efficient staff of real plumbers. Messers. Somiya and Nishihata assisted by Mr. Momota are exercising their skill in this work. The completion of the fixtures for baths, running water and toilets has been largely due to their efforts. These men have at present left for Geikie, Decoigne, Lucerne and other places to fix up the bath-houses.

Mr. Nishihata popularized the slingshot here when he made one a month ago. Now even the bald-headed old men have fun playing hunting like a child."

In the same issue the following was printed:

"Decoigne Men Find Bears In National Park Very Friendly - by Takeo Nakano

Decoigne, Alta., No. 3 Camp - About two months have passed since we first settled down to camp life in this mountainous plateau high in the Rockies. For three weeks we were encamped at Yellowhead,

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but with 150 men located there, the camp was overcrowded. Hence on April 15, our party of about 50 men over half of whom are from Woodfibre, were transferred to this point.

Decoigne is the front door to the province of Alberta, being only three miles from the inter-provincial border. Our camp, apparently, was one of the last to begin construction, for we moved into our tent-house May 15 only a week ago.

Our camp site is a very good one. In front of us we can see the highest peak of the Rockies, rugged and snow-capped. Our buildings have been erected in the centre of a mountain meadow. Here and there we have left trees standing and we are planning to cultivate a first-class garden around our houses. All through the summer and autumn we expect to enjoy ourselves in the beautiful 'Decoigne Park' of our own making. On the west side of the camp we have a baseball field, and on the east side we intend to plant a vegetable garden.

Near the camp is a crystal mountain stream in which there are many trout and ducks. In the evening, one can see the beautiful sinuous otters in the river. The deep green forest abound with elk, moose and deer. The bears come out around the camp even in the daytime to seek food.

The Bears Are Tame

Our campsite is in Jasper National Park, where hunting is prohibited. Thus the bears are used to the sight of men, and if you give them meat, they will eat it without fear and then go back into the forest. Such a spectacle is something wholly new to us, and we should like very much to have the town people here to see it all.

At first we felt some uneasiness because correspondence was not reaching us regularly. However these days letters are arriving normally to relieve us of our lonesomeness. Then too we are being absorbed into camp life.

Our work is not hard, but the lack of facilities for recreation cause difficulties for older men as well as younger men. But we are doing our best, fortunately we have among our men here Baisetsu Nakina, a haiku poet, Nanzan Nanamegi, a violinist, and Saiko Nishida, a shakuhachi (Japanese bamboo flute) artist. After supper they give us sweet melodies to comfort our souls. "

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Almost from the time the camps were established, MacNamara, Wood, Mead and Wardle were in correspondence with each other to define exactly what the role of the RCMP was to be with respect to the conduct of the men in the camps. On May 23rd, Wood wrote to MacNamara, and confirmed that the RCMP was responsible for protection *"...against possible subversive acts on the part of Japanese and at the same time protect the Japanese from any aggressive action on the part of the public or troops that may be located in the vicinity"*. This did not include discipline which Wood always insisted was the responsibility of the Commission and Mines and Resources. (5)

Late in May, the OC Pacific Command, Major-General R.O. Alexander, questioned the advisability of using Japanese in work camps so close to CNR and CPR main lines. This question caused a flurry of letters between the Ministers of Labour, Defence, and Justice, with Wood finally writing to St. Laurent at Justice on the 8th of June and ending with: *"... one is inclined to play safe and recommend that the Japanese camps in the vicinity of the railway main lines be closed."* St. Laurent wrote to Mitchell on June 8, and said *"... As this subject is to be discussed before the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, no doubt a correct estimate of the danger involved by permitting Japanese to construct this highway may be assessed: for, as the Commission mentions, without the magnitude of the movement of troops and war material over these lines, it is difficult to make a decision"*. (21 & 22)

On the 26th of May, Kinzie Tanaka wrote a letter to the B.C. Security Commission trying to alert them to the seriousness of the unrest and morale problems which were beginning to become quite serious. The letter was quite long, but was really the first important attempt to wake the authorities up to the problems and possible solutions to the deteriorating morale in the camps along the Yellowhead-Blue River project, so it is being reproduced here in its entirety, instead of referring the reader to the Appendix.

THE EXILES

"COPY

RED PASS JCT., B.C.

May 26, 1942.

B.C. Security Commission,
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Dear Sirs,

To introduce myself, I am Kinzie Tanaka, No. 12774. I was formerly the 1st Vice President of the Japanese Canadian Citizens League, for further information I refer you to Mr. Thomas Shoyama of the New Canadian.

I do not know whether you will take much notice of this letter, but I would like to stress this point, I am writing in grave sincerity and with a great deal of thought.

To state the point of this letter first, it is this; the rising tide of trouble that exists in these camps on this project between Jasper and Blue River is reaching a point where something is bound to burst in the near future. I don't want to see this happen because I am fully aware of the resulting consequences. I don't want to see this happen because when once started it will only end with sorrow for all concerned. I do not know whether the Commission is fully aware or understands the actual morale, spirit or feeling of the men in these camps, but I stress this that there is none or very little. You who are in authority must realize that men without spirit cannot work effectively, you must realize that men without spirit are always discontented. What does this add up to? I repeat, a rising tide of trouble that is bound to burst.

This trouble may start over something relatively small when looking at it in normal times and conditions, but these are not normal times and conditions. The men living in these camps are not really normal and every small grievance is magnified a hundred-fold in the minds of the men. Once a break occurs it will be very difficult to mend for the surrounding influences will demand force and once force is used that will mean the end of these camps as they were intended. Trouble makers will be interned, the men of the camp would go on strike and you will have to arrest them all, public opinion would demand that all Japanese be interned, with the result that you would have bitterness, hate

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

and cruelty, the very things that Democratic Canada is fighting against.

You may wonder why I am so sure of the outcome that I have pictured. I have been in these camps for over two months, first at Lempriere and then at Red Pass. I have seen the same signs at both camps. Besides these observations I have knowledge of reports all up and down the line of camps. These signs are becoming more apparent every day and they will continue to grow until it will eventually break somewhere.

You will wonder what is causing this unrest. I repeat again, the men have no spirit. The general run of the grievances are usually trivial, but every one of these grievances adds up to a sum total and it will continue till a stop will have to be made by the authorities, then it will flare to all the camps with a result that the whole project would have to be placed under strict military guard. Every camp has a few trouble-makers. They are by far in the minority but they could set this off. You may say - 'intern the trouble-makers' if you did that and the men of the camp disagreed with that procedure, that would be sufficient to set it off. Trouble makers must be isolated, I agree, but if you don't give the men something to look forward to, you will always have trouble-makers. Even level headed men in normal times and conditions become a little distorted in their outlook and they would support the trouble-makers for the simple reason that they are in the same boat and therefore consider it necessary to stick together.

I firmly believe that the Security Commission is trying to do a very difficult job in the best way they are capable of and that is why I am taking the trouble to write this letter. I firmly believe that you are fairminded and open-minded and would welcome any insight to the conditions that exist and any suggestions for a possible solution.

When the camps were first organized and the men were set to building their bunkhouses, etc., they had an interest in life, but that job is practically completed. Now they are out doing road construction which is hard manual labour, all they see ahead is this hard work which looms in their minds as lifeless drudgery. They look ahead a little and see the long cold winter that is usually

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severe in these mountain regions. They see several months of lifeless living with very little to distract their minds, no entertainment, no travelling, no wife or children, no happiness. How can it be possible for men to work with spirit, with incentive, with hope when such a picture is before them? That is the underlying reason for all the surface troubles that exist in these camps. Until that is rectified, trouble will continue to grow and grow. You cannot forcibly separate a man from his family and expect him to be a willing worker - alien or otherwise. Give the men something to look forward to, give the men their families, give them a little happiness and you will make these men a benefit to Canada. When these men are separated from their families they cannot help but worry about them, it would not be human otherwise. And you must surely realize that men cannot work with any degree of efficiency when under such mental duress.

Mind you, I fully realize that Canada is at war with Japan and certain hardships must be suffered, but surely it is not impossible to bring these families together. I am sure there are many places in Canada where communities can be set up, where the men can build homes however small and do farming and other work. There are places outside of the defence area where timber is available, Let them be self-sustaining in every way possible. Give them a new interest in life after the upheaval of removal. These communities would be an asset to Canada, they could grow their own food and perhaps supply Canada with the surplus products, they could grow sugar beets to help alleviate the sugar shortage. They could build their own schools and church. They could have their own stores and services. In fact once established they would be self-sustaining. You may say that public opinion would want to send all Japanese back to Japan at the conclusion of the war. Whether this would be so I could not know, but these communities would still be an asset to Canada for placing the returned men. In the meantime you would be making several thousand relatively happy and they would be doing much to help Canada, consciously or unconsciously. Look at the Japanese that went to the beet fields, it wasn't because they were going to an easy occupation or a more lucrative one, no, it was because the family was together. That is

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

the most important point. Any plan that does not take that point into consideration will ultimately result in failure and perhaps in undesired consequences.

You may say that these road camps are already completed and a great deal of money would be wasted, I agree. What I should suggest is this. Let the married men go to these communities and in their stead bring in the young single men of Canadian or alien birth and let them work here. Give them machinery and pay them higher wages, make foremen and timekeepers out of them (they are quite capable), let the girls work in the offices as stenographers and in the field hospitals as nurse. Let them be chainmen and rodmen and axemen to assist the Engineers, in other words give them a little incentive to work and you would get much better results than what is now being accomplished by disgruntled men. Pay these men enough wages that they could go to their parents homes in the communities during the winter months. I am sure if such a plan were projected much of the trouble that is now forever looming up will quickly dissipate. Some of the young men who are married or would get married could build their own small cabins near the camps, there is plenty of native timber up and down the line. I understand that there is a small sawmill lying idle down at Blue River which could be rented for \$30 a day. With that they could cut all the lumber that was required and all they would need is the hardware.

These are some of the ideas that I have studied while I have been in these camps. They may not be entirely practical, but I firmly believe they are a basis to work from.

I sincerely hope that you will take this letter in the spirit that I have intended and that is the spirit of cooperation and the helping to solve a difficult problem.

Yours respectfully,

(sgd.) KINZIE TANAKA."

At the Commission offices, Mead received Tanaka's letter through an Inspector McGibbon and on May 30th, he sent a copy of the letter and a memo to Taylor "RE: CONDITIONS IN WORK CAMPS

THE EXILES

Referring to the attached letter, written by one, Kinzie TANAKA, Inspector McGibbon of the Mounted Police was in my office this morning and mentioned to me that the morale of the Japanese was rapidly deteriorating in the Road Camps in British Columbia. He outlined the causes as :

(a) SEPARATION FROM THEIR FAMILIES

(b) NO FUTURE

(c) LACK OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE PART OF SOME OFFICIALS OF JAPANESE PSYCHOLOGY WHICH LEADS TO FRICTION OVER SMALL MATTERS AND IN THE INTERPRETING OF CAMP MATTERS

(d) THE TENDENCY OF SOME FOREMEN TO THREATEN THE JAPANESE WITH INTERNMENT FOR INFRACTION OF THE RULES AND MATTERS OF THIS NATURE (e) THE QUESTION OF PAY HAS CREATED FRICTION AND RECENTLY WHEN A RED CROSS CANVASSER VISITED THE CAMPS HE INFORMED THE INSPECTOR THAT IN SOME CASES THE JAPANESE ENDORSED THEIR PAY CHEQUES AND GAVE THEM TO HIM AND THE HIGHEST ONE WAS FOR TWO DOLLARS.

I must say that I am impressed with Tanaka's letter and his statements should be given serious consideration". (9)

When Taylor received Mead's memo and Tanaka's letter on the 30th, he immediately wrote to MacNamara and included copies of both. Taylor wrote: "... *There is a lot of food for thought in this letter and memorandum, whether we like it or not. ...*" He went on to say that if trouble did not occur before winter, it most certainly would when winter set in. He continued that it would be possible to reunite the men and their families in the winter and then send them back to the road camps in the summer. He added: "... *Nevertheless the problem is of major importance and must by necessity receive the Government's serious consideration, more especially in view of the delegation that is to review our enemy alien situation headed by the Spanish Consul, the Red Cross, etc., which may have a very far reaching effect on the 115,000 or more prisoners of war we have in the hands of the Japanese*". He ended his letter with: "*The Government's immediate opinion on the*

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above will be greatly appreciated". (9) (See Appendix Chapter III, 4., for complete text.)

On June 1st, Mitchell, the Labour Minister, who had been advised by MacNamara of Taylor's letter and enclosures, wrote to James G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, informing him of the situation and Taylor's request for the Government's immediate opinion relative to his suggestion about reuniting families. Mitchell wrote to Gardiner, in part: *"I thought of writing to him and saying to him that it was the opinion that furnishing employment for men and seeing to it that the women and children were given reasonably generous maintenance seems to be a sound and generous policy under all the circumstances at least for the present and that as time goes on and other possibilities of placement as family units develop (such as in the case of sugar beet field workers) families can be united.*

I shall be glad to have the benefit of your advice".

He also sent the same letter to Ian Mackenzie and Mackenzie replied that he concurred with Mitchell. (9)

(Author's note: the road projects were the Labour Department's proposal for the handling of the Japanese males' situation and it is clear from the archival documents that it tried to resist any change to the plans which it had formulated.)

On the 2nd of June, Mead wrote to *"The Commissioner"* in Ottawa along with a copy of Tanaka's letter and mentioned that Wood had written him a personal letter earlier in which *"... you invited my attention to the possibility of continuous trouble among the Japanese in Work Camps, if they were kept from rejoining their families"*. Mead had replied that he concurred with Wood's thoughts then. Now, he was asking Wood to try to convince other Government minds to the same point of view that the two of them held, because *"if we keep these families separated I feel sure that we will be faced with the problem of interning most of the male Japanese now residing in these Camps. This will have repercussions insofar as the welfare of our own prisoners of War is concerned and the British as well, as the manner in which we are handling this situation is being followed very closely by the*

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Japanese Government, not to speak of the economic waste of manpower at a time like this". (21)

Gardiner replied to Mitchell on the 3rd, agreeing with his reply to Taylor and Tanaka, (Author's note: Tanaka could not recall that he ever received a reply to his letter.) but Gardiner added, " ... *that if some way could be found of allowing married men who are in the camp to return to their homes for the winter months when work on the highway would probably be impossible it should have the effect of making them more satisfied to know now that that prospect is in sight*". (9)

On June 5th, Wood wrote to St. Laurent, reporting: " ... *growing unrest due, for the most part, to separation from their families, and worries over their families, property, etc.*". He went on to say: "... *may I strongly suggest that the families be united wherever it is possible to do so, ... and that some hope be held out to those male Japanese in camps that their families will be permitted to join them.*

The nature of the trouble in the camps takes the form of passive resistance and sit-down strikes, which cannot be considered of a serious nature, but a clear indication of discontent". He concluded his letter with: "As the responsibility for supervision of these Japanese outside the protected area falls upon this force, I consider it my duty to report the situation to you". (17)

"The N.C." of June 6th:

"Gosnell Men buy Camp Radio

by T.Hamazuni

Gosnell, B.C. - About 100 Japanese are working in the road camp here in Gosnell, and thus far are all in good spirits. For the first month or so we lived in cars, and experienced many inconveniences, but in early May we moved to this camp.

The buildings here include two bunkhouses 26 feet by 62 feet, a bath-house, and a spacious mess hall adequate to serve 100 men at a time.

The stumps and brush around the camp are being cleared gradually to make way for vegetable and flower gardens.

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Our camp is located on the upper Blue River about 1 mile from the C.N. It is 100 miles south of Jasper, and thirty miles from the town of Blue River further down the river.

At present, road work here is confined to hand labor since we have no horses or explosives, but it is said that a tractor will be sent here soon.

When we arrived here in the latter part of March, there was still three or four feet of snow, but nowadays it is quite hot in the daytime. Although we had feared being tortured by mosquitoes when the summer came, it seems now that this was a needless worry.

On May 22, a camp committee was also organized here, and a number of proposals adopted, including the purchase of a community radio. Providing facilities for table tennis and ball games are also being considered".

"The N.C." of June 10th,

"by Michiyoshi Yamamoto

Tete Jaune, B.C. - Three youths, Inouye, Kunitomo, and Yamamoto have come to our "old men's" camp at Tete Jaune to join their fathers. They are all seventeen years of age and are working on the farm attached to this camp.

Since Mr. Doi of Red Pass is always boasting about baseball in The New Canadian, these boys are coaxing us to form a team here too, and send a report in to the Nisei Newspaper. However, sad to say, we have no field to play in, and it is impossible to play at a small corner of the farm. Yet since we have Tetsu Uno who recently attained popularity by umpiring a game between two teams at Red Pass and Rainbow, we are talking of forming a team composed of young and old, with Uno as captain if we are able to find an open place to play in.

* * * *

On May 23, a concert was staged for the first time at our camp. Through the efforts of Messrs. Shigeoka, Nakatsu, Yasunaka and Suzuki, who looked after the arrangements, a program made up of thirteen items was presented, with Mr. Hamakichi Furuya acting as master of ceremonies. The artists who participated in the affair all put on a professional like performance and surprised even

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myself. If we are a step behind other camps in baseball, our camp has the most number of entertainers, we feel, and are very glad of the fact.

On May 22, while we were cutting brush, Mr. Gisaburo Muraki, our straw boss, discovered a bear sitting on a tree about 70 feet high. Since lowering the animal before felling the tree was out of the question, we cut down the tree as it was. However, when the tree hit the ground with a bang, there was no sign of the bear. Just when it escaped, we do not know. As long as such brave men as the men here are clearing brush, the 'kuma' (bear) will probably 'kumai' (not come) anymore, it is popularly rumoured here."

The unrest in the camps was becoming a real problem for the Mines and Resources Engineers who were responsible for the progress of the road. In the past, they had to deal with unemployed men of the same color and culture who were glad to have a job. Evidence of their frustrations can be seen in their reports and one of the first examples can be seen in Wardle's "*CONFIDENTIAL and URGENT*" letter which he sent on June 10th, to MacNamara in which he enclosed a copy of a report from J.H. Mitchell, the Engineer in charge of the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway (Author's note: Mitchell's report was not in the file). There had been a strike of the men at the Gosnell Camp on June 7th. The men were asking for removal of the Foreman although Mitchell's report indicated that "*... there were no grounds whatever for this strike, and that the Foreman, Joe Cleavelly is in no way responsible for it*".

The Mines and Resources view was that The Commission should remove the agitators from the camp, and warn the rest that unless they returned to work in 24 hours, meals would no longer be provided.

Wardle stated near the end of his letter: "*Obviously we have reached the stage where a very firm and definite stand must be taken with the Japanese. Otherwise, all the camps can only be regarded as concentration camps, and not as work camps*". (10) (see Appendix Chapter III, 5., for complete text.)

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On June 11, Defence Minister Ralston, wrote to Labour Minister Mitchell, asking about the camps located near CNR and CPR main lines. Ralston told him that the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was deferring a decision on the status of the camps until a report was received from the RCMP. This report was requested no later than end of June for a Board meeting scheduled for early July. On the 13th, Mitchell wrote to St. Laurent suggesting that St. Laurent: *"... ask Royal Canadian Mounted Police to have a careful inspection made and a report submitted which would be available for the Permanent Joint Board on Defence before the end of June".* (22)

"The N.C." June 13th:

"The Public Forum

H.Ejima Work Camp B-1, Yellowhead via Lucerne B.C.

Signs of an early summer are also seen here. Although it is a little chilly in the evenings, the temperature climbs till it is very warm during the daytime. The peaks of surrounding mountains are still capped with snow and the breezes blowing down from these mountains are comparatively cool. We have become used to living in tents; and with the completion of a large bath-house, we are able to enjoy a refreshing bath every evening. The "park" which we built on the banks of a stream flowing in front of our camp is creating such a fine effect that it is capturing the admiration of visitors from other camps.

Here also a committee has been organized for the purpose of maintaining harmony and cheerfulness in the camp. Headed by Masaharu Moritsugu, the committee includes: Ryota Ebisu, vice-chairman, Mikio Ujihara, secretary, Kintaro Aida, interpreter.

Also serving on the committee are two representatives from each tent. We all feel that a certain measure of security has come over our life here, since the committee is now looking after our general welfare and is ready to deal with any emergency that may arise. A meeting is held once every week

Nowadays, enthusiasm for baseball here is terrific, and even men over the age of 50 are practising vigorously with the young men as

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if they were twenty years younger. At present a baseball ground, one of the biggest along the C.N.R. line, is being constructed. League matches are expected to get under way and fierce battles are anticipated among Lucerne, Decoigne and our teams."

On June 17th, St. Laurent replied to Mitchell "... that an inspection would be made by an Officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Commission now advises me that such an order has been issued, with additional instructions to augment guards wherever it is found necessary. ... The report will be submitted to you as soon as received, and in plenty of time for the next meeting of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence to be held early in July". (22)

On the same day, Wood wrote to the OC Vancouver, requesting that S/Sgt. Woods or some other NCO carry out the special inspection of the Japanese road camps, as requested by the Minister of Labour. The Officer was to be instructed to come to Ottawa prior to writing his report as several matters of policy were involved. (22)

On June the 17th, there was an RCMP report of a mass demonstration by two Japanese Camps. Cst. A.P. Ridley, in charge of the Red Pass detachment, was the officer who filed this report. He described how all the men in the Grant Brook camp marched to the Rainbow Camp which was only 3 1/2 miles away. Wishart, of Mines and Resources, who had accompanied Ridley, along with Cst. Wisenden of the B.C. Police, tried to talk to the men, but they were determined to go to Red Pass to talk only to Mitchell. When they reached Red Pass there would then be 275 men to deal with and Ridley was very concerned so he wired Vancouver and Jasper. Mitchell and Wishart drove out to meet the men, and after two hours returned with twenty men who had been given permission to come to Red Pass to make some purchases. Wishart explained to Ridley that the men were angry over the stoppage of visiting privileges to the other camps and Mitchell had smoothed over the situation by promising the men that this rule would be changed. Mitchell also wired Chief Engineer, T.S. Mills, in Ottawa his

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report. (5 & 10) (See Appendix Chapter III, 6., for complete text of Ridley's and Mitchell's reports.)

"The N.C." June 17th,

"Still Public Forum

Camp 3 - Decoigne

The early summer has also come to this camp located on a plateau more than 3700 feet above sea level. Even though the peaks of the Yellowhead mountains are still white with snow, the wide plains surrounding our camp are covered with violets, dandelions, and others whose names are unknown creating the impression of a delayed season.

The fresh leaves of poplar trees which dot the growth of pine trees interspersing the two ranges of mountains, shine brightly in the morning sun and in the evening comfort our tired bodies when we go for a walk. And the sound of wild geese returning home and the croaking of frogs hidden in unknown hollows, heard as the sun sinks below the western mountains to be replaced by a moon in the sky, harps on our poetical feelings.

One Large Happy Family

At first there were only fifty or so in our camp, but with the transfer here of over sixty-five men from Decoigne camp No.2 on May 25 and 26, we have expanded into a large family and are all very glad of it. The overflow of the Miette River following days of blazing heat which caused the snowy water to increase suddenly followed by three days of continuous rainfall, flooded the No.2 camp located on the river bank. We felt sorry to hear that all the work the men put in to build the camp came to naught with the flood.

The next day, some twenty men left here for the No.1 camp at Geiki. This was brought about by the fact that a large number of men in the three road camps located in Alberta had been recalled to work on sugar beet farms thus lowering the number of men to a figure far below the regular quota of 100 and necessitating the closure of one camp because of economic reasons.

Recently a 'nihon-buro' has also been installed at our camp and with the completion of other facilities, we are leading a pleasant life with little inconvenience as far as camp life is concerned.

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After supper, we old men forget our age playing baseball on the spacious grounds here and when night falls we spend our time in games of 'go', 'shogi' and mah-jong. Sounds of violins, gramophones etc. could also be heard until the late hours. Decoigne, Alta. T. Nakano."

On June the 20th, Commissioner Wood wrote to MacNamara, about the situation in the road camps. Part of his letter follows: "... under existing conditions, neither our Officers in British Columbia nor do I believe that we can look for any improvement in the conduct of the Japanese in these camps, and the only alternative seems to be to turn these camps into internment camps, surround them with wire entanglements and an elaborate system of guards. The question is whether such an expense is justified, for one cannot compel these Japanese to work.

Concerning the procedure for internment; our Minister, by whom all orders for internment must be signed, refuses to issue such an order unless it has the concurrence of the British Columbia Security Commission.

In other words, our Minister insists that the British Columbia Security Commission be tied in with any such action". (22)

On the 22nd, Hill, the OC Vancouver, wrote to Wood, the Commissioner, and advised him that D/Sgt. W.J.Woods would make the special inspection of the Japanese camps. He had first hand knowledge having just returned from some of the camps. He would fly to Ottawa from Calgary and should arrive on the night of the 26th. (22)

Finally, on June 27th, "The N.C." was able to report on the labour unrest in the road camps through a report in the Vancouver Province:

*"Camp Unrest Flares Into Geikie Strike
(from the Province)*

Japanese workers at two work camps, Geiki and Decoigne, near Jasper, Alta., have refused to work since Tuesday night, according to the B.C. Security Commission.

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(Vancouver sources told *The New Canadian* that the trouble was precipitated when a fight broke out between one of the Japanese workmen and a member of the camp staff. This led to the outbreak of grievances and the subsequent calling in of police officials.)

Thirteen of the ring leaders have been arrested and are en route to internment at the Canadian immigration detention sheds here under guard. Sixteen other Japanese are being held on similar charges for following what appeared to be organized outbreaks at other camps.

The work strikes are in protest against separation of Japanese men from their families and delays in receiving pay cheques.

Pay Ceases

Major Howard Mellor B.C. Security Commission spokesman, said it was expected the Japanese would go back to work at Geiki and Decoigne camps shortly.

Pay automatically ceases while disorders continue.

'The commission is handicapped in removal of Japanese from the B.C. defence area,' said Major Mellor, 'owing to the reluctance of citizens in proposed settlement areas to accept the evacuees.

Many people are blind to the fact that security of the Pacific Coast is a national, not a local problem. We are doing everything in our power to reconcile these communities to accepting Japanese in their midst for duration of the war.' "

"The N.C." June 17th,

"The Public Forum

Albreda News

Greetings from Albreda on the lovely slopes of the Canadian Rockies 438 miles from Vancouver which we still look upon as our home. Many moons have passed when we arrived in March when snow was still on the ground. Now with the arrival of early summer, everywhere we gaze is alive with green vegetation, with the exception of towering Mt. Albreda.

On the 3rd of May we moved into our new quarters which are about a half mile from the railroad station. We are now feeling quite at home in our comfortable new camp. We are confident that we have the best campsite and are proud of it too. We have a

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big Union Jack waving merrily in the wind at the top of a tall flag pole. The life here is carefree, quiet and lovely.

To describe the camp, the three main buildings are standard size like all other camps. The mess house white staff have a separate building and another building is for the office and quarters for the staff and visitors. We have plenty of other buildings, which are made possible by the abundance of logs for building log houses. The root house, the double-screened meat and supply house, the 18x22 feet Japanese bathhouse with bath as big as 'Nishikiyu' and made entirely of cedar, are all made of logs. We have in addition, a beautifully peeled 20 by 32 feet log-house which houses the kitchen staff and myself.

Sweet Music and Posies

We bought a radio some three weeks ago so now we are mentally improved in both music and news. In a place like this a radio certainly livens things up.

We have a garden and lawn all around us, and the flowers are coming out to make life more cheerful! The 'rock garden' which our expert gardeners have dished out is something that surpasses that of Stanley Park back home. A two acre vegetable garden is also our pride and it is very interesting to watch it grow with its many varieties of plants sprouting out.

Soon we shall have vegetables right from our own patch. Among the seeds sprouting could be noticed cucumbers and watermelon growing very strong and we are hoping for a treat on the 1st of July. We also have a wild blueberry patch about fifteen miles square about ten minutes walk from our camp, so we expect to be swamped with blueberry pies.

Lover's Delight

We have magnificent scenery right here in our back yard. It is consoling to think that we get what millionaires pay their hundreds to see, and get paid two dollars a day too. A few minutes hike takes us up the canyon to a twenty-five foot waterfall. It's a lovely hike on holidays. Yesterday with our kind foreman, Mr. Cleavelly, we made a trail right up to the falls, and oddly enough and with wishful thinking on our part, called it 'Lover's Delight'.

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For recreation after work and on holidays we play softball, swing around iron bars doing gymnastic exercises, pitch horseshoes and hike. We have a number of teams pitching horseshoes.

Sports Day Too!

We shall be celebrating the founding of this country by having a sports day and picnic on the 1st of July at our spacious field and the whole of Albreda will be invited. We will be offering plenty of prizes, ice cream, and watermelon. The city of Albreda although not very large is a divisional point on the C.N.R. We have a store, post office and other conveniences. The trains passing through stop long enough to see our friends going through.

We are all well and contented except at times we miss those we left behind. Anyway the foreman and everyone are wonderful and kind to us, so we are making the best of everything. The whole eighty-nine of us wish to extend many hearty thanks for The New Canadian which we get regularly and appreciate 100 percent.

Albreda, B.C. C.I.Okawara."

On the 18th, T.S.Mills, the Chief Engineer, Surveys and Engineering Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources sent Wardle a memorandum which was replying to a letter from M.P., J.B. Green, to Labour Minister Mitchell, complaining about the easy treatment of the Japanese men in the camps. Mills quoted extracts from a report submitted by C.M. Walker, Supervising Engineer, stationed at Banff. The frustrations felt by the supervisors in the camps is quite evident in the language used.

Walker reported: "... our engineers in charge of these projects, and also the foremen engaged, feel that they have been placed in the position of 'foster mother' to the Japanese. ... they listen to such complaints, no matter how trivial under threat of strike. The handling of Japanese workmen in our camps is entirely different from the handling of white men on construction work. In the latter case if workmen lag on the job they are immediately dismissed, whereas with the Japanese, it is impossible to dismiss them without reference to the Security Commission. ... the Commission appear to be most reluctant to remove men from any of our projects, ...

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Furthermore, the R.C.M.P. appear to be working very closely indeed, with the Commission and have the same ideas regarding removal of slackers from camp. Unless our engineers can show definite proof that certain Japanese are dangerous or deliberately mischievous in our camps, it seems to be impossible to get action from the police in removal of persons whose presence is very detrimental to the progress of the work in hand.

... the congested conditions of Internment Camps ... is to a certain extent responsible for this reluctance for action on the part of both the Security Commission and the R.C.M.P. ... such reluctance really ties the hands of our officials in charge of the work.

The statement as per newspaper article in the Kamloops Sentinel of June 4th, that the Japanese have full control of the rations is absolutely untrue; the Japanese have nothing to do with the rations except to eat them; all camps are rationed for sugar; they are being fed well with foodstuffs purchased at reasonable market prices, the meals supplied being similar to those in our regular construction camps. Canned and dried fruits are fed to both Japanese and key men with the supply to Japanese being restricted to about 75% of that supplied to key men.

There is no doubt in my mind but that Engineers, foremen and guards are being laughed at by the Japanese ...

... in almost every Japanese camp a certain number of Japanese, generally the younger generation, make it a point to tantalize and provoke the foremen by purposely slowing up on the work. They do not deliberately refuse to work, but make it a habit to work for possibly half an hour and then sit down for ten or fifteen minutes, to discuss the affairs of the world in general. Many times each day the foremen or straw bosses are forced to beg or attempt to persuade such men to get up and go to work. ... Without doubt there is a great deal of quiet amusement among the Japanese over the inability of white officials to force them to do an honest day's work.

A certain number of Japanese in almost every camp make it a point to protest against most trivial inconveniences, ... whereas white labourers working under the same conditions would find

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nothing whatever to complain about. This, I judge, is due to resentment on the part of many Japanese for being placed in camp at all, ... it no doubt is due to a desire to embarrass our officials to the greatest possible extent without going so far as to call for arrest and jail sentences". (10)

On June the 20th, Wardle sent his Deputy Minister a memorandum which explained the delay being experienced with assigned pay, and what was being done to correct this. He also went on to outline the problems the Department was having getting the job of highway construction done under the existing circumstances. What he wanted was the ability to remove men, for just cause, immediately from the camp, instead of the days and weeks now taken. The foremen felt that they had been placed in a subordinate position to the Japanese. Wardle asked that the Department Minister Crerar speak to Labour Minister Mitchell to try and correct this situation, with the expectation that the whole tone of the camps would be improved.

Wardle also mentioned the serious situation which arose when the troublemakers at one camp were being taken into custody by the RCMP for internment. He said "*... that it was only through the patience and coolness of the guards and Mr. Wishart that bloodshed was avoided"* . (10)

On June the 22nd, R.M. Corning, the Resident Engineer, at Red Pass, whose assistant was Kinzie Tanaka, wrote a letter to Mitchell, the Senior Assistant Engineer, about the problems being experienced in the Camps. In his opinion, the attitude of the Japanese workmen appeared to be one of a desire to sabotage the road work programme because the men believed it would be a military road which would be used to defeat Japan.

The value being received "*is not over 30% to 40% of the wages paid them"*. He used examples of what the various construction activities should cost, against what it was actually costing for this road project. When any of the white staff tried to speed the men up, he would be faced with a sitdown strike and demands for his removal. Even the Japanese strawbosses who tried to do a job

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would be faced with demands for their removal or were intimidated into quitting.

When the road camps were being built, "*... there was a fair spirit of willingness shown ... now ... there is a distinct slowing down on their efforts. This is universal throughout the whole project. ...*"

He ended his letter with: "*I have not an available list of the chief trouble-makers in the camps, but will try to canvass the camps and get such a record.*"

There are undoubtedly some well-deserving Japanese who should also be listed". (22) (see Appendix Chapter III, 7, for the complete text.) (Author's note: the letter was sent by Corning but the copy in the file was sent to Det. Sgt. Wood and signed by Mitchell.)

On the 24th, Commissioner Wood sent his Minister, St. Laurent, a letter in which he reported the growing and serious unrest in the camps. He knew of the Commission's solution to the unrest, which would entail the appropriation of land in the vicinity of Slocan City and moving entire families there. Wood urged that this solution be adopted: "*... with the least possible delay*".

He was concerned about press reports and statements by M.P.'s which brought up in his mind the question of the responsibility of the RCMP in the policing of the camps. He pointed out that originally the guards provided by the Force were for the protection of the railway lines against sabotage. Later the Commission asked that the guards also enforce certain camp regulations. He pointed out that these guards were the best available locally, but were not suitable to enforce discipline or act as wardens and they were never intended to act in this capacity. There were only four guards per camp of 50 to 100 men, and "*Instances have occurred where the Japanese have ignored the orders of the guards, broken through their ranks and assumed a threatening attitude. ... A report today indicates that a white teamster in the camp at Geikie was clubbed by the Japanese*".

Because of the seriousness of the situation and the criticism of the Force and the Government, Wood asked St. Laurent "*... that a ruling be given on the following questions with the least possible delay:-*"

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(1) Have the Police the right to place armed guards over Japanese who are British subjects in these camps, where these Japanese are not under detention, but have volunteered for highway construction work?

(2) What degree of force by such guards is legally justifiable in enforcing camp regulations by the B.C. Security Commission for the conduct of voluntary Japanese workers in these camps, where these Japanese are British subjects by birth or naturalization?

(3) May I have your ruling, also, on the same points where camps are composed of Japanese Nationals who are not under detention".

Wood ended his letter by pointing out that the guards were not regular members of the Force and that there were not enough men available of the standard required for the regular Force". (22) (see Appendix Chapter III, 8., for complete text.)

The Calgary Herald reported on the 26th, "**Jap Workers On Strike At Jasper Road Camps.**" The article reported that the Commission said that workers at Geikie and Decoigne had refused to work and 13 of the ringleaders had been arrested and would join 16 others in the Immigration Sheds in Vancouver. The article went on: "*The work strikes are in protest against the separation of Japanese men from their families and delays in receiving pay cheques*". By this time there were 130 Japanese in detention at the Immigration Sheds. (10)

"The N.C." June 27,

"Evacuees Across Canada

A Road Camp Poet

At this camp where there is nothing to see or hear except the sight of mountains and the sounds of wind, it is indeed a supreme pleasure to be able to acquire news from various work camps and other places through The New Canadian whose service we appreciate very much.

We who left Vancouver three months ago spent the first three weeks of camp life at Yellowhead. Even though it was middle of March then, the trees showed no signs of budding. However once

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the rays of the early summer sun began to play on them, they burst into buds all at once, making us marvel at the powerful influence exerted by nature. Simultaneously, my emotions which were being held in check by some unknown force seemed to come into action as I became susceptible to the feeling that we should not remain apathetic to the mysticism of nature, and subsequently, felt like composing 'haikus'. Just then I noticed in the paper the one written by Mr. Ryuichi Yoshida of Three Valley work camp describing the scene of an open air fire which went:

*'Aoba-taku kemurini minewa
(smoke from burning pine needles
Kasumikeri'
hides half the mountain)*

I too have had experience in cutting brush and making fires and have felt the urge to express these scenes in verses, but somehow I was never able to translate them into 'haikus'.

Poor though they are, here are some of the 'haikus' I made recently:

(At road construction work.)

*'Caterpillar no oto enten-no
(the noise of the caterpillar shakes
cho yusuru.'
the butterfly under the blazing sun)*

*'Sajin uzumakunako
(making dust and sand swirl
caterpillar-wa-shinko-su.'
caterpillar keeps advancing)
(At the discarded railway tracks.)*

*'Tetsudo-towa nanominokorite
(railway tracks remain in name only
tsutsumigusa.'
covered in grass)*

*Shinryoku-wo irodoru asagi
(newly opened green leaves reflect
tento-kana.'
the light blue tent)*

Decoigne Camp, Alta.

Baisetsu Nakano"

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On the 29th, D/Sergt. W.J. Woods gave a seven page memorandum to The Commissioner on his special investigation on the road camps which had been asked for on the 13th by Labour Minister Mitchell. His conclusions mirrored many of the Commissioner's own views, and this is not surprising, since the Commissioner had ordered that D/Sergt. Wood come to Ottawa before the report was written. This report, in the Author's opinion, was the turning point in the Exiles' struggle to rejoin their families. Sabotage of the approximately 50 miles of the CNR mainline which ran from Jasper to Red Pass Junction and connected with the only line to Prince Rupert was a serious concern of the military. As well, from Red Pass Junction to Blue River, there were approximately 100 miles of rail line which went to Vancouver which was vulnerable to sabotage.

Because of the unsatisfactory attitude of the workmen at practically all of the fifteen camps along the lines, D/Sergt. Woods made it a point to discuss: "*... the situation at length with various officials of the Department of Mines and Resources, the RCMP guard supervisors, camp foremen, Japanese labourers and others with a view to obtaining an intelligent cross section of opinion regarding the actual conditions and cause thereof, having in mind the potential danger of consertive (sic) sabotage by the Japanese from the various camps in the event, which appears not unlikely, of their present resentment and hostility taking form in conserted (sic) open rebellion or stealthy action*".

Woods stated that there did not appear to be any legitimate reason for the discontent being shown, as the food and accommodations were of the best and the living conditions extremely fair. He went on to say: "*After much enquiry and weighing various opinions received and from both white officials and Japanese the writer is of the definite opinion that the fundamental cause of discontent amongst these Japanese can safely be attributed to separation from their families, this added to various personal worries, dissatisfaction over the nature of their employment, undoubted agitation by certain strong pro-Japanese elements which are present at each camp and which have increased in view of the news regarding recent Japanese successes, all contribute to the present unsatisfactory situation ...*".

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Considering the foregoing, a decision needed to be made as to how important the highway was from a military standpoint. If it was important, then: " ... *the situation resolves itself very clearly and definitely into the fact that two vital reasons undoubtedly necessitate immediate removal of these Japanese from this project:*

(1) and most important for immediate consideration, elimination of the present and eminent (sic) danger of consertive (sic) sabotage of the main C.N.R. line Jasper, Alberta to Red Pass Junction, B.C., approximately 50 miles of main line connecting with the only method of military transportation to Prince Rupert, B.C. on the west coast and also approximately 100 miles of main line C.N.R. from Red Pass Junction to Blue River, affording direct C.N.R. route to Vancouver on the west coast.

(2) If this Yellow Head project is decided to be a military necessity a vastly more efficient construction program at less actual cost per mile would be affected (sic) in the building of the highway concerned if these discontented Japanese labourers were removed and up-to-date machinery and white labour employed at going wages".

Woods' report went on to quote extensively from Corning's report of the 22nd to Senior Asst. Engineer Mitchell regarding the cost and morale of both the Japanese and the white staff.

Woods went on to report that the foremen and guard supervisors knew: " ... *that the Japanese are secretly meeting Japanese from other camps in the bush at night after working hours, strictly speaking this is a violation of ... regulations ... however enforcement of this regulation would only precipitate trouble and this regulation like many others supposed to be enforced are discreetly ignored. Taking the number of wooden trestles which could easily be sabotaged at night by one or more Japanese with camp axes and allowing for the known hostility to increase as it no doubt rapidly will and the particulars of stealthy inter-camp personal communication as pointed out above throughout this line of camps, it must be pointed out that if so inclined the most hostile and pro-Japanese units in each camp could easily arrange a conserted (sic) action of each camp unit on a prearranged night, whereby each unit could leave their bunkhouses around midnight*

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without fear of detection sabotage or weaken one or more wooden railway trestles in each respective camp area throughout this 140 mile stretch and return to their bunkhouses before daylight undetected. ... the entire stretch would be sabotaged and effectually block military transportation via C.N.R. to either Prince Rupert on the West Coast or Vancouver for a considerable period".

Woods commented on the threat of a breach of the peace occurring because of the policy of appeasement which was being practised. On one occasion, an agitator, who had been taken into custody by a single RCMP Officer, had to be released because of the fear of a riot. This agitator was subsequently taken into custody together with fifteen others by a larger force of Officers who were dispatched to the Gosnell Camp. Woods also reported, that at this Camp, there also were twelve axes which had disappeared.

Woods stated that: "*... with these Japanese Road Camps adjacent to the railroad and the Japanese labourers in their present hostile state of mind, it would be an impossible task to adequately guard this stretch of track to prevent entire risk of sabotage ... The only sensible solution to this problem being a complete removal of the Japanese concerned from that area to be effected as soon as possible*".

Woods also reported on his inspection of the C.P.R. Main Line Sicamous to Revelstoke, B.C. and said: "*... These are almost what might be described as 'Happy Camps' compared with the Yellowhead area Camps ... and the general friendly attitude of these Japanese is quite noticeable, at present, in comparison with the Yellowhead project labourers*".

He ended his report with: "*The above facts and opinions sum up to the best of the Writer's ability the situation as it exists today, and in conclusion on this report the following points are enumerated as highlights of this situation warranting careful study and special consideration:*

(1) The Police lack legal authority to place armed guards over the Japanese in these Camps, where these Japanese are not under detention, but have volunteered for highway construction work.

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(2) *The Special Constables employed as guards are not legally justified in using force to compel Japanese nationals or British subjects to comply with regulations or orders issued by the British Columbia Security Commission or the Camp Authorities.*

(3) *The 400 Special Constables employed as guards are entirely unsuited and untrained to act as wardens of these Japanese and are only suitable for employment in guarding vulnerable points, such as the Railway right-of-way.*

(4) *The strength of the uniformed Force of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police does not permit us to supply guards in sufficient numbers to remove the danger of sabotage from the Japanese in these Camps.*

(5) *The attitude of the Japanese has changed for the worse since their arrival on the construction work, the reasons for which are set forth in the report.*

(6) *Ill-informed criticism by Members of Parliament, the public and the press, and the natural alarm of passengers on trains, cannot be met other than by the removal of the Japanese from the Railway main lines.*

(7) *The treatment and situation in regard to Japanese nationals and British subjects in these Camps will undoubtedly be adversely commented on by the Consul General for Spain when he visits these Camps in the near future, which, in turn, may have its effect on the treatment of Canadian citizens now interned by the Japanese.*

(8) *An obvious increase in the number of Special Constable guards at each camp is no solution to the problem.*

(9) *The recommendation is made that the Japanese be removed from all camps in the vicinity of Railway main lines". (8) (See Appendix Chapter III, 9., for the complete text)*

Despite Woods' disclaimer that he was not trying to be an alarmist, a careful reading of his complete report certainly conveys the sense that nothing but catastrophic consequences would result if the men were not removed from the vicinity of the railway lines.

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(Author's note: I believe that it was the actions of the disillusioned and unhappy Exiles in the road camps on the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway, together with item 11 of Woods' report and item 4 of his recommendations, that were the key facts which convinced both the Department of Labour and the Permanent Joint Board on Defence to send the married men back to their families!)

On June 30th, St. Laurent had received Woods' report on the Camps and the men's attitude, from the Commissioner, and immediately forwarded copies to Defence Minister Ralston and also to Labour Minister Mitchell. St. Laurent informed both of them that the Commissioner was in agreement with Woods' report. (23)

On the 3rd Mitchell wrote to St. Laurent urging him not to place Woods' report before the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. Among the points which he brought up in his letter, he commented on Woods' report and also justified the establishment of the camps. In addition, he wrote: "*For some past weeks the Japanese have been staging an agitation for evacuation under a plan which does not involve separation of members of families. We had worked out plans which would, in due course, bring families together. The agitation staged by the Japanese has necessitated a speeding up in the 'timing' of some of the moves planned rather than a modification because we would otherwise have to contemplate mass internment which would be difficult to administer, or in fact to justify*". (Author's emphasis.)

Instead, Mitchell proposed that he and St. Laurent agree on a policy which the Labour Department had been developing and then submit a report based on that policy. Briefly, the plans called for temporary housing in vacant buildings and tents in the interior of BC. The Labour Department had already purchased 1,000 16'x16' tents, and had advised the BCSC to so inform the men in the camps. In addition, the Department was in touch with the Provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta concerning the placement of families on farms. Adult single women would be placed in domestic work, and single men would continue in road camp work.

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In order to cover the security aspects of the camps, Mitchell proposed that a uniformed Constable be placed in each of the fifteen camps along with a gas track car to transport security personnel to trouble spots along the line. In addition, discipline would be tightened up and the trouble makers would be promptly interned.

If St. Laurent agreed with the plans Mitchell had outlined, he wanted St. Laurent to issue the necessary instructions to carry out the plan. He ended his letter with: *" I believe we would then be justified in reporting to the Permanent Joint Defence Board, explaining our plans as being first a tightening up of the precautionary measures and second a removal of at least the married men within a short time and if it proves necessary the removal also of the single men".* (23)

On the 10th of July, a sub-committee meeting of the Cabinet, probably the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, to which reference has been previously made, was held to discuss: *" ... measures which might be taken to deal with the unsatisfactory condition existing in the Japanese work camps along the Blue River highway".* Present at this meeting were the Dominion Cabinet Ministers Crerar, St. Laurent and Mitchell, as well as seven other senior officials. These men met for an hour and five minutes and agreed: *" (1) That the Japanese in the work camps should be moved from the vicinity of the railroads in accordance with the plans of the Department of Labour".* There were two other recommendations that followed. (8) (see Appendix Chapter III, 10., for complete text)

On the same day, after the meeting, Wood wrote to the OC "E" Div., Vancouver, telling him that it had been decided by several Cabinet Ministers and Heads of Departments, *"... that the married men would be moved from the fifteen camps as soon as conveniently possible, and the remaining single men would continue in camp on this section until other suitable employment is found for them.*

I understand the attitude of these Japanese has changed for the better recently, on receiving advice that the Mass Evacuation

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Committee of Japanese was now supporting the Security Commission in reuniting families".

He asked that D/Sgt. Woods make another survey the week ending July 25th of the fifteen camps and report on whether conditions had improved or not, and what steps the Dep't. of Labour had taken to follow up the new policy of removing the married men and uniting them with their families.

In addition, Wood wrote to the Director of the Lands, Parks and Forest Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources and included a report on the conditions in the Japanese Work Camps. This report was not dated or signed, but appears to have been written by one of the project Engineers, most likely Walker, and is included here, because it illustrates the existing conditions and also the state of mind of the men in charge of the project. (23) (see Appendix Chapter III, 11. for complete text)

In early June, George Ernest Trueman, the Executive Secretary of the Montreal YMCA, who was able to speak fluent Japanese, had been invited by the BCSC to make an investigation of the Interior Settlements and the Road Camps and report on the situation. (He would later become the Placement Officer in Toronto for the Labour Department.) He wrote a very comprehensive report on the findings from his talks with the people in the Settlements and the Camps. His report covering the Interior Settlements and the Road Camps ran 21 pages, and is too long to cover in much detail. However, some of his more pertinent comments on the Road Camps follow:

"JAPANESE GRIEVANCES - *There is no doubt that the majority of the Japanese in the labour camps feel themselves grievously misused. The first groups voluntarily offered to go to the camps as a means of helping to solve the problems incident to the evacuation orders of the Government. Their story, whether true to the facts or not, is always the same: they were promised the removal of the Coast restrictions, no curfew, even light work. ... Their disillusion was sudden and great. They found they were under the supervision of R.C.M.P. special constables, one of whom with gun on shoulder constantly guarded the railroad track as if*

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against criminals bent on destruction. They were forbidden to approach the railroad tracks. ... While the white employees might walk to camp on the tracks, the only place cleared of snow, the Japanese workers must plug along the side in snow up to their knees and beyond.

POSTAL DELAYS - Then the ordinary services went wrong. Letters from Vancouver took anywhere from two weeks to a month for delivery some were never delivered at all. telegrams took days to arrive. The immediate cause of one of the strikes was the non-delivery of a wire which a wife spoke of in a subsequent letter to her husband telling of her illness and asking him to come home to see her. ... The camp rose in revolt, demanding that the man get a chance to see his sick wife. Worse ... was the non-arrival of the pay cheques assigned to the families for their support. When I was in Vancouver June 8-15, April cheques were even then just being delivered.

INADEQUATE PAY - ... If by good luck they were able to work, say 24 days during the month, they would have but \$2.94 left over

...

WORK MEANINGLESS - ... It is man with a pick-axe and shovel against the forest and rock. I have gone into a camp and have noted a Japanese workman - often one well up in years - trying to remove a stump from the roadside with axe and crowbar. Two or three hours later, on leaving the camp, he is still at the same job, the stump being only appreciably smaller than when I went in.

NON-UNDERSTANDING FOREMEN - A large percentage of the foremen, while doubtless good construction men, have spent their lives bossing 'gangs'. ... It is lamentable, indeed, that in a racial situation ... the direction of camp activities is frequently in the hands of men whose only knowledge of their workers has been gained from irresponsible newspaper reports. ...

WORKERS' ATTITUDES - I am not trying to whitewash the evacu-ees. I am convinced that there are many in their midst whose loyalties are still in the land of their birth. ... The 'go slow sign' is out to too many of them. On the other hand, in more than one case through erroneous information quite the wrong man has

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been arrested. The most publicized of the strikes was one of this character; the men saying that if the arrested man was taken and they would all go. ... In another incident, ... the chief officials concerned have admitted that they moved too fast. Amends are being made.

SITUATION TENSE - Because of these circumstances the situation, especially West of Jasper, is in an exceedingly explosive state. ... the slightest spark may set off a conflagration that might have consequences of an international nature. It is to prevent any occurrence of this kind as well as to remedy a situation which from any standpoint is well-nigh impossible that I make the following recommendations:

1. **ULTIMATE FAMILY REUNION** - In common with the Settlements, the first complaint in all the camps I have visited but one is the being separated from their families. ...

2. **THE QUESTION OF MORALE** - The matter of morale should receive immediate attention. On asking one camp foreman in whose camp in whose camp relations were pretty close to perfect how he managed to make it so, he replied, 'I pay attention to morale'. ... The matter of morale is too important a point where racial contacts are involved to be left to the whim or neglect of the individual foreman. ...

3. **POSTAL SPEED-UP** - As is the case in the Settlements, a definite attempt should be made to speed up the delivery of letters and telegrams. Camps without telephone communication with the outside world should be connected up so that in the case of injury or sudden sickness help in reaching the camp would not be too long delayed.

4. **ONLY ABLE-BODIED MEN IN CAMP** - Old men and ineffectives should be removed from the work camps. ... Old age should be honoured It is pathetic in the extreme to see an old man of 65 or 70 doddering around a work camp apart from all those gentle ministrations of home and loved ones that should accompany maturity.

5. **DENTAL SERVICES** - A Japanese dentist on salary should be appointed ...

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6. *MORE JAPANESE FOOD* - Provision should be made for a more frequent serving of Japanese food. I had requests for this over and over. ... Many are complaining now because of the 'too much meat' and too few vegetables served.

7. *OFFICIAL STATEMENT RE CLOTHES & WINTER QUARTERS* - Two matters pertaining to the future are now causing the Japanese workmen a good deal of concern:

(a) *what is to be done when the shoes and clothes they are now wearing wear out?*

(b) *How are they going to survive in their present summer-built bunkhouses when winter comes?*

In the interests of their peace of mind an official pronouncement should be made ...

8. *DISCIPLINE & CONTROL* - One of the great difficulties in the camp situation is that those in authority have no way to enforce their authority but the final one of arrest and internment. ... There ought to be some system whereby the faithful could be rewarded and the unfaithful disciplined."

Trueman then went on to outline a system of merit pay and extra privileges for good performance. He also said that the men asked that Camp Rules and Regulations be more liberally interpreted. Fishing, passes and the problem of not being able to cross the railroad tracks, were a sore point. his last recommendation was:

" 13. *FINAL SOLUTION JAPANESE CANADIAN PROBLEM* - ... The general consensus of opinion among the number of Japanese and whites to whom I have talked is that the solution will lie somewhat along the following lines:

(1) *Under Federal supervision the Japanese should be scattered in quite small groups among all the Provinces of the Dominion. ...*

(2) *Immediately on the conclusion of the war an opportunity should be given to every Japanese adult in Canada to make a decision as to his national loyalty. ...*

(3) *The formal study of the Japanese language should be carried on only as a curricular activity in schools and colleges, ...*

(4) *Full citizenship rights without any discrimination whatever should be given all those of Japanese racial origin in Canada.*

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In this way the Canadian Japanese problem would disappear, Canada would be enriched by the addition of the strong characteristics of the Japanese race and the trials of the evacuation proved to be a blessing in disguise.

Respectfully submitted, G. Ernest Trueman." (21)

While Trueman was in British Columbia, and after he had investigated the details surrounding an incident reported by Green, the M.P. from Sicstoke, he wrote to Green. The incident had to do with a certain Miss Frye who lived across the railroad tracks near the Gosnell camp. Green had reported that Miss Frye had to defend herself from attack with a rifle. Trueman wrote: " ... Yesterday I read all the reports telegrams and correspondence bearing on the Gosnell strike in which Miss Frye played so spectacular a part. I have also talked with the official of the project who had most to do with the strike and was at the railroad track all the time the men were in the vicinity of the railroad. The story about Miss Frye defending herself against the advancing Japanese is a pure fabrication. At no time did they cross the railroad beyond which Miss Frye's cabin is located nor did they know she was in the vicinity at the time". He closed his letter with: " Incidentally it may interest you to know that those closest to the story acknowledge that in making the arrest the wrong man was taken and that the protest of the workers was more or less justified". (10)

When Wardle received a copy of the letter which Trueman wrote, he asked Mills to find out exactly what Trueman had been told and what access he had to the files. On the 24th, Mills replied to Wardle that according to a letter received from the Red Pass office, Trueman must have been misunderstood. Wishart, the Supervising Foreman, had discussed the strike with Trueman and had shown him only the official report on the incident which had been written by Wishart and he did not have access to the camp files. In addition, Trueman had chosen to take the workmen's opinion that the wrong man had been arrested contrary to Wishart's report that the leader was a man named Kamaguchi.

The Kamloops Sentinel published its' story on the strike and the Miss Ella Frye incident on July 9th. The published story follows:

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"Lone Mouny (sic) Removes Ringleader From Melee of Japs in Work Camp.

Miss Ella Frye Procured Gun But Did Not Use It In Gosnell Incident.

Gosnell - Sixteen members of the Japanese Camp here, all of whom have been regarded as trouble makers with a grievance against the Foreman of the camp, were removed following a disturbance at the camp which broke out June 13 last. The uprising of the Nipponese came upon the heels of an ultimatum - delivered after a strike which lasted more than a week - which stated that the men 'must go to work immediately or be reduced to two meals a day.' A Japanese spokesman replied that they would not return to work unless the foreman was removed.

Constable S.M. Slinn of the R.C.M.P., Red Pass, who was the first police officer to reach Gosnell upon being informed of the trouble, decided to remove a man considered to be the ringleader and advised the man to be prepared to leave camp. As the latter stepped from his quarters in one bunkhouse, others in an adjoining building rushed out. A short enquiry on their part brought shouts of protest when they learned what was happening.

Appeals to Compatriots

The shouts became a roar as the officer attempted to take the man from the midst of his compatriots; guards sensing the danger, tried to help by holding back the infuriated, screeching and struggling crowd. The 50 or 60 year old man in custody appealed to them to turn back saying he would be treated all right and added 'Don't lay a hand on the guards or it'll be too bad'.

Pushing aside the guards,- one of whom was sent sprawling - the Japs broke through intent upon accompanying the prisoner to the train. One high-strung Nipponese tore his shirt almost off himself and pressed his chest against the muzzle of the officer's revolver, telling him to 'Shoot me! Shoot me! There was but one weapon that might have been used against the crowd.

While the demonstration saw no actual violence and only loud and angry shouts, the logging duo of Frye and Weberg - Miss Ella Frye and Gunnar Weberg - who were working nearby, concluded that the worst was happening. Turning her horse into the stable,

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Miss Frye rushed to her house and seized a gun, which she placed in a clump of bushes, fully intending to use the weapon if necessity demanded. (An earlier report that she had pointed the gun at a number of Japanese was untrue and unwarranted, said Miss Frye in an interview with this reporter.)

Others Removed Later

The remainder of the trouble makers were removed upon the arrival of Sgt. Wood and Const. Ridley of Vancouver and Sgt. Faulkener of Jasper, all of the R.C.M.P. The other members of the camp returned to work the following Monday.

Const. Slinn, the only police officer present during the melee, received commendation on the way he had handled the uprising. The feeling remains among the guards that the firing of a single shot would have been disastrous to themselves and the entire camp. Today the work of road construction and general camp routine continues."

On July 1st, as reported in the previous chapter, "The N.C." reported that the BCSC was planning on reuniting the married men in the road camps with their families and on the 4th that the NMEG would begin to cooperate with the BCSC.

"The N.C." same issue, "- by H. Doi

Red Pass, B.C. - On June 9 a telegram was sent by the Japanese men here at the Red Pass work camp to the B.C. Security Commission. The wire requested prompt payment of the \$20. assigned pay and dependents' allowance to their families, since it was known that money for the month of April had not yet been paid and as a result many families were experiencing difficulties.

In a reply, the Commission stated in a wire that the cheques would be paid out the following day.

In the June 13 edition of The New Canadian we were very pleased to learn that all our requests had been accepted by the Commission and subsequently the system of payment had been revised so that families would be paid their money at the beginning of each month.

* * * *

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So far as the foregoing question is concerned we are quite satisfied with the measures taken by the authorities, but since there are other legitimate requests we would like to make, a study is being conducted with a view to their submission. On the other hand, efforts are being made to promote friendship among the men and to improve the organization in our camp.

* * * *

Red Pass Wins Again

On June 14 a second game was played here between Red Pass and Rainbow. Led by Mr. Takaoka, manager, some thirty men were on hand from the camp at Rainbow, all seeking revenge for the 19 - 16 defeat suffered by their team on May 24.

Youthful pitchers Murata and Yasui opposed each other as the game opened with the well known third baseman Mr. Ito acting as umpire.

The Rainbow outfit, unfortunately, seemed to lack the shrewdness which they displayed in the former encounter, and again lost to the Red Pass nine 20 - 9.

Standing of the three teams comprising the Red Pass baseball league follow:

	<u>Won</u>	<u>Lost</u>
<i>Rocky Mountains</i>	3	1
<i>Red Pass Giants</i>	2	2
<i>Mt. Robson</i>	1	3 "

On the 4th, Taylor wired MacNamara that MacBrayne of the Commission had visited the camps at Geikie and Decoigne to fully explain the new policy on reuniting families. Both camps were working, but the men at Decoigne were insisting that the foremen be fired or they would strike again on the fifteenth. However, the camp was divided on the issue of the strike and the men were informed that the foremen would be staying and that if the men struck, they would not receive the benefits of the new policies. MacNamara was advised that the Nisei and National committees which had been recently formed in the camps were cooperating with the Commission. (10)

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Commissioner Wood still appeared to have some concerns about the new role the RCMP would be assuming under the proposals of the Labour Department. On July 4th, he wrote to the Officers Commanding "K", "D" and "O" Divisions advising them that he had asked the Minister of Justice to rule on:

"(1) Have the Police the right to place armed guards over Japanese who are British subjects in these camps, where these Japanese are not in detention but have volunteered for employment on Highway construction work?

2) What degree of force by such guards is legally justifiable in enforcing camp regulations by the British Columbia Security Commission for the conduct of voluntary Japanese workers in these camps, where these Japanese are British subjects by birth or Naturalization?

3) May I have your ruling, also, on the same points where camps are composed of Japanese Nationals who are not under detention"? He advised them that the Force should conduct itself with caution until it had a definite ruling on these questions. (23)

The frustrations being experienced by the Engineers on the project was still evident. On June the 6th, Mills, the Chief Engineer, wrote to Wardle, the Director of the Surveys and Engineering Branch, and included an extract from a letter he had received from Walker, the Supervising Engineer at Banff on the subject of free meals to be provided to the men while they were on strike. Walker wrote: *" ... Any such proposal by the Department of Labour or any other Department, is absolute nonsense and would, if carried out, cause innumerable irregularities as well as constant trouble in our camps. If put into effect this suggestion would make it possible for the Japanese to sit back any day they felt so inclined and refuse to work, knowing that they would be fed free in any case. We might better give up the idea of obtaining any work whatsoever by the Japanese and simply hold them in camp, rather than to attempt to carry on work under any such arrangement.*

From copies of intercepted and censored letters ... it is apparent that the Japanese are very much under the impression ... that they have the white man on the run and need only to threaten to go on strike in order to obtain any concessions which they may desire.

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The suggestion under discussion ... would confirm the Japanese in their present ideas that they, - not the white men, are running the camps.

Only in the case of actual illness ... should free meals be allowed to Japanese workmen in camp. Any other arrangement would, - in my mind, - render the camps absolutely unmanageable and would make the entire evacuation scheme farcical". (10)

"The N.C." July 11th,

"CAMP SPIRIT

OLD TIMERS PROUD TO DO A GOOD JOB

by Kinzie Tanaka

(Ed.Note: It is generally agreed that there is little to be said to recommend the road camps which have been home for almost four thousand of our men - young and old - since early Spring. Discontent and unrest, not always without reason, has been marked in some camps more so than others; and where it has been most marked, morale has usually been lowest. In the following article a contributor to these columns describes a visit to Tete Jaune Camp where he observed a 'good camp spirit' in action and suggests the psychological basis of that spirit.)

As we neared Tete Jaune Camp we came across half a dozen old men working away at the road, really plugging along. Not one of them was sitting down, and there was no foreman or strawboss to watch them. They did not know that a representative of the Security Commission was actually looking on. That certainly looked good to see these old fellows working away.

I was introduced to Mr. Iwamoto who is head gardener at the camp. He showed me the garden work he has done around the buildings. I had already heard and read so much about the Tete Jaune farm and flower gardens. I was ready to investigate them myself as one who has had a little knowledge of gardens. Mr. Iwamoto is certainly doing a first class job.

Just beside one of the bunkhouses he has made a rockery and on its upper portion he built a miniature Japanese arched bridge of natural wood. He hunted high and low for two pieces with just the right amount of curvature to form the hand railing. His patience

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rewarded him with two very fine pieces. He also showed me the garden tea-house he built. It is better than anything you will find in Stanley Park. Beside it he has built a wooden fence made of small trees which is very striking in its design and is well worked.

Proud of His Work

Here is a man who has a right to be proud of his work. Here is a man who is contributing to the fine spirit that pervades the camp. That spirit of doing a job and doing it well and being happy about it. I admire such men

They also have flower plants growing along the borders of the bunkhouses: there are French marigolds, asters, zinnias, African marigolds, cosmos nasturtiums and sweet peas. There they are planted from seeds and then arranged along borders to beautify the camp surroundings. They are yet small but they are growing well.

The cold nights in these parts make gardening difficult, but here these men who love nature have done well. I am sure they will be rewarded with a lovely camp by the full flush of summer.

I understand too, their vegetable garden is coming along very well. It is situated a little distance from the camp on a flat space below some hills. It reminded me of the Fraser Valley farms. They have a plot of ground planted for growing seeds because they fear a seed shortage next year. That's foresight for you. They call it the 'Silver Road Nurseries'.

Good Job of Road Work

Further down the road, two or three miles distant, the men were working on the grade, and they were doing a good job. No machinery at all - just hand labor and a team of horses and yet their road was a splendid job.

They take their lunches with them and eat where they are working. They say they do that because it gives them a better appetite for supper, and they appreciate it more.

It makes me feel proud of these old men who are doing a grand job, and doing it cheerfully. The oldest man is 69; there are about twenty-eight who are over 60 and many over 50. There are only five young men in the camp who are there with their fathers and they work well too.

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* * * *

Now what makes this camp tick so well, while other camps are grumbling about one thing or another, having trouble, and getting some of their men interned? Let me sum up the reasons as I see them:

- 1) The Camp Foreman, Mr. McKale and his staff are kind and tolerant, and they are understanding.*
- 2) They have a good Japanese foreman, Mr. Abe, and committed, which means good leadership.*
- 3) They have built a good healthy camp spirit.*
- 4) They are isolated and do not have visitors spreading unrest.*

Now what is this camp spirit? It is something like this: they realize that Canada and Japan are at war, therefore precautions were taken by the Government. They have good faith in the Security Commission and it is doing its best to make things as good as possible for them and they wish to co-operate with them. They want to show that they can be law-abiding citizens in Canada and consider that this is a good time to prove it. So they are working well and quietly. The foreman doesn't have to stand by and watch these old men in their fifties and sixties. They are proud of their work and they are proud that they are doing a good job. Both the Engineer and the Supervising Foreman recognize this camp as one of the very best along the whole project".

"The N.C." same date

"Co-operate for Camp Contentment

(the editors wish to express their deep appreciation to many correspondents who send in interesting and informative news from the various work camps and other districts. Because of space limitations, however, we regret that we are not able to publish all correspondence in full.)

Blessed Event in Yellowhead Camp

From Yellowhead on the B.C. - Alberta border, Mr. Miyagaki reports that a baseball diamond was recently completed there.

'To celebrate this event, we played a game with the team from Lucerne, but owing to the lack of practice our team was edged out

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by a narrow margin. About thirty or forty men from the camp at Decoigne east of here, came over to watch the game,' he writes.

Our foreman Mr. Sam Kitchen, has taken a keen interest in our sports, and has aided us greatly in the construction of our ball ground. We are very grateful to him for this, and would like to comment that because of his keen understanding of our situation, camp life here is proceeding very smoothly.

The bears and deer, which come roaming around near our camp now seem just like dogs and cats so used to them have we become. Some of the men have caught squirrels and rabbits, and are keeping them as pets in their hand made cages. One of the squirrels in fact has given birth to baby squirrels.

Horseshoe Pitching and Softball

Writing from Lucerne, Mr. Shosaku Hayashi tells of the varied interests that enliven the life of his camp:

'Our campsite is the re-built hotel attached to the railroad station here and one of its advantages is that the 100 men here can live under one roof.

We also boast four strong softball teams which play league games three times a week. Even the old men have organized a team. I think we have the strongest all-star outfit among the camps in the Rockies, having defeated the team from Yellowhead twice. Horseshoe pitching and hiking are also popular pastimes.

Situated 500 miles from Vancouver, our camp lies in a large valley beyond the scenic beauty of Lucerne Lake. Just half a mile from our place is the railway station and post office.

Under the direction of Mr. Kiniura a splendid bath has been constructed here, while rock and flower gardens and two or three vegetables have been cultivated through the efforts of elderly Mr. Yamamoto. In the evening, the gramophone, radio and indoor games provide amusement, and the feeling here is that the men are leading a comparatively happy existence, so far as camp life is concerned.

Of the 100 men who made up the first contingent to this district, fifty disembarked at Rainbow. When the balance of the men reached this camp, there was a little strife between the members of the original staff and the men, owing to the overhaul of the

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organizational system. Now, however, we are united as one body, leading a harmonious life. Headed by Mr. T. Maehara the committee includes:

Kichiji Sugaya, Shinkichi Kimura, Yoshimi Takahashi, Hikobei Mori, Sashichi Furubashi, and Kanichiro Edamura, interpreter.

A Letter From The Government

The men at Red Pass road camp were recently the recipients of a sympathetic reply by wire from the federal authorities according to Mr. H. Doi.

'Some time ago the men here sent telegrams to Labor Minister Honorable Humphrey Mitchell and the B.C. Security Commission, asking to re-unite the men at road camps with their families, and to afford men opportunities to become married.

To this the Minister replied in a letter dated June 20, that he fully understood the feelings held by the men in the camp. He further said that the men might feel assured that every opportunity would be taken to prepare places where it would not be necessary to break up families.

Mr. Junshiro Yamaguchi of Rainbow reports that the men there are all striving together to make the camp as nice a place as possible to live.

Four months of camp life have already passed, almost like a dream. While we enjoyed some hilarious fun on occasion, we also underwent some very trying experiences. Out of it all now is emerging a spirit to disregard petty differences and work co-operatively for the betterment of the group as a whole. We are all co-operating to promote our mutual welfare, and to improve life here in the camp.

A similar written petition has been sent to the government by the men at Red Sands work camp, it is reported".

"The N.C." July 15th,

"Men in Road Camps Appreciate Letters

by H. Doi

Red Pass. - We are now enjoying real summer weather after a period of unsettled weather which lasted until the end of June. The



*Kinzie
(May 29, 1942)*

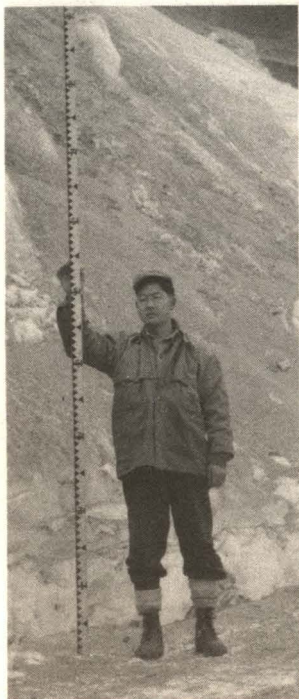
All photos courtesy Kinzie Tanaka.



*Mr. Kawashiri, Japanese foreman
at Lempriere and Chubby
his good friend.
(July 1, 1942)*



This is part of the highway at Red Pass looking west. This section is the best stretch of the whole road at the present time. The camp is about half way up this road and a little to the right. Red Pass station would be about right angles to the road and down the hill about a short block. This road was just stumps and bush when I came in May. Kinzie (Red Pass, B.C. October 1942)



*Freddie Ohora when he was
helping me at Lempriere*



*Lempriere
(July 1, 1942)*

All photos courtesy Kinzie Tanaka.



*Mr. Neville Smith and Mr. Corning Resident Engineer and Construction
Engineer. Yellowhead - Blue River Highway Project
Engineer's Quarters and Office at Red Pass (June, 1942)*



*A Tea House at Tete Jaune.
All photos courtesy Kim (Iwamoto) Izumi.*



Another view of Tea House at Tete Jaune.



2nd from left Mr. Iwamoto, Mr. Abe on cook's right.



*Japanese Garden at the Camp at Grant Brooks B.C.
Courtesy G. Funamoto.*



*Garden at Tete Jaune.
Courtesy Kim Izumi*



*Mr. Yamamoto, Mr. Iwamoto, Mr. Abe.
Courtesy Kim Izumi.*

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thought invariably shared by all of us at this season is that under normal times we would be enjoying ourselves by the sea-side.

Since recreational facilities and travel are limited, the pleasure we derive from The New Canadian means much to us. I wonder if people in general can understand this feeling of ours. One thing which helps above all to enliven our lonesome existence and comfort us a great deal is the correspondence from our families and our friends. The sight of the men in the camps waiting for prospective letters on the day that the mail arrives reminds me of a child waiting for his father to come home with a present.

Dear readers, please send as many letters of encouragement and comfort as you possibly can to your friends in the road camps.

* * * *

A letter was received here recently from the B.C. Security Commission in reply to a request we made in June asking for an increase in the rate of pay received by men at road camps from 25 to 30 ¢ an hour.

The Commission stated in their letter that the wages were fixed under the Defense of Canada regulations, and that the Commission had hoped to alter them. It stressed however that the Commission wished the people to know that it was striving continually to ensure their well-being."

"The N.C." same date

"Road Camps Mark Dominion's Birthday

Albreda Host to Visiting Teams and Town, Social at Princeton

(Editor's note: On July 1 special holiday celebrations were held in a number of Japanese road camps. Summarized accounts of reports by correspondents are published here.

by M. Takahashi

ALBRED A. - Celebrating the Dominion Day holiday a sports day was held here by the men of the Japanese work camp and the section crew on a field half-way between the local railway station and the camp.

Cutting the long grass which covered the entire field was carried out by members of the Occidental section crew, while other details were handled by a Japanese committee.

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Refreshments In Plenty

At 8 a.m. refreshments and sports equipment were taken to the grounds on a caterpillar and two wagons, and soon preparations were complete, with Mr. Sasaki watching the ice cream stand, Mr. Matsumoto the soft drink stand and Mr. Nakasone the candy store. A tea-house was opened with Mr. Nishikawa in charge and a lunch counter with Mr. Nakafune.

* * * *

More than 100 races including jumping and novelty events were run off during the program.

Early in the afternoon a party of men from Blackspur Camp arrived, accompanied by the R.C.M.P. Among the group were Nag Nishihara, former Asahi pitcher, and Tetsuo Kamitakahara, head rooster all dressed up in white uniforms.

Blackspur Wins

Climaxing the day's program was a baseball game between the Blackspur team and the Albreda all-stars. With many former Asahi and Japanese League players performing, an interesting game was played. Sparkling fielding impressed many of the Occidental spectators. The encounter ended with a victory for the Blackspur team 14-4. A souvenir picture was taken at the end of the day."

The Kamloops Sentinel also reported on the July 1st festivities and an abbreviated excerpt follows:

"Whites and Japs of Albreda

Camp Join in Sponsoring Sport.

Albreda - The Dominion Day event proved to be the biggest and most enjoyable event of the year at Albreda. On the spacious field, ... was held a picnic and sports day. It was co-sponsored by the white staff and Japanese boys of B-15 camp ...

The Japanese of the Albreda construction camp raised, by personal contribution, enough money with which to supply 750 free ice cream cones for everyone attending the sports."

The Sentinel had a feature article on the Gosnell Camp on the 16th:

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"Life in a Japanese Road Camp

Sentinel Reporter Visits Gosnell in North Thompson by GFB

Gosnell - A preview of the trans-provincial highway which will be used some day in driving to northern points in this and other provinces without making the long journey around the Big Bend, was given this week to a Sentinel Reporter. If all sections of the road are being prepared as well as this, autoists of the future are in for a wide, smooth highway and some of the finest scenery to be had in the country.

Snow caps and glaciers, white spray from mountain falls and whirling waters, luxurious growths, will be eye openers to countless thousands of motorists when this long-overdue route links north and south.

The work is progressing favorably considering the efforts of the wheel barrow brigade beneath the hot summer sun. More than one of the 'boys' is down to his last stitch as he picks, shovels and wheels load after load of damp clay and gravel or hacks at the gnarled roots of monarchs of the virgin forest.

Some growth, ages old, cannot be removed from their places in the middle of the roadway, by hand, but must be ousted by mechanical means. Hills, 30 to 50 feet high have been whittled down, 24 feet wide - all by hand implements.

Variety of Tasks.

Not all are employed in road-making or bush-clearing. To some go the task of sawing the fallen logs into stovewood length; another reduces it to kindling by using the wedge and axe. Others are engaged in erecting log huts, filling great holes left by disinterred roots and large rocks; still others are employed in kitchens, while a factotum cares for the numerous floors, lamps (coal oil), garbage, etc. And out of this forest primeval emerges a series of settlements, just like this, replete with the necessities of life. and for the first time, man-produced garden stuff and flowers. At one such camp landscape gardeners diverted the mountain streams to form small brooks, islands, miniature bridges, etc. in an effort to add more to the already existing beauty of their surroundings.

An old greybeard paused in the act of making kindling to complain to the camp foreman that twice a day and no 'holiday' did he have

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to put a fire to the bath water. He wiped his sweating body with the towel he wore over his head and shoulders.

'You take Sundays off and let those who want to bath light their own fires,' replied the foreman. The old man smiled and showed his near-toothlessness.

A young man operating a buck saw wiped his brow. 'Cut in the shade,' said the foreman. 'It will soon be shady here,' returned the optimist.

Three men busied themselves building an outdoor oven of rocks. A Japanese cook was ladling out something for dinner while his assistant stood over the intensely-hot cook stove shoving in more fuel.

Outside the 'street' was being attended to. This street contains several buildings - two bunkhouses, two dining halls - office and commissary. A short distance away, a log affair is in the midst of construction. A rushing stream goes near by and is crossed by a pole bridge. Near it stands the offices of the R.C.M.P.

Traditional Bath

There are two bunkhouses for the men, each equipped for accommodation for about 108 men. Bunks are made 'two-up' one above the other. They also have their own dining hall; the staff have other quarters. Behind the dining hall is the bath-house, containing the orthodox Japanese bath. Previously washed, soaped, and rinsed, each member slides into the communal hot bath where he relaxes for several minutes. All use this same water which remains free of any soap or dirt; it is primarily a means of bringing relaxation to a tired and aching body by means of a hot submersion.

They have their leisure moments in the evening, when they are free to play their national games of chance, skill, and skin. The man who won their earnings tonight will lose them tomorrow night. Twice a day - morning and afternoon - a ten minute recess is in order when all take to the shade for a smoke.

The Gosnell camp is composed of middle-aged and older men. There is but one Canadian-born lad there whose only grievance is that there are no others of his own age. He's there to keep Dad company. A recent highlight in this camp was when an Englishman

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who had lived for some time in Japan and spoke that tongue with remarkable ease visited the place and addressed them in their own tongue.

'He talked better Japanese than I do' remarked an elderly man. And how they enjoyed it"!

Another article in the Sentinel in the same issue in part:

"Red Pass Junction

By G.F. Barker

Red Pass to the casual traveller, is a place where trains take on water and an occasional passenger; to a more observant person, it is a place where tracks diverge. ...

Foreigners, foreign tongues, and foreign railroad rolling stock have become familiar to local residents of this mere dot on the map. Likewise the sight of Japanese gardeners or the appearance of a factotum from the nearby camps is no longer a novelty. Nevertheless, there is an unhidden current of anxiety and tenseness in the place, particularly so since an uprising and march of some 175 Nipponese from Grantbrook and Geikie to Red Pass on June 17 last, took place.

Claiming that mail and telegrams to the members of the camp had been held up, as had maintenance cheques for their wives and families, from whom they are separated, a demonstration and march to Red Pass (where they intended to join the local camp of about 100 compatriots) began. They were met about three miles out of Red Pass by camp authorities and police who turned them back only with difficulty. The incident was not forgotten by the handful of local residents, most of whom have been here since the railroad first came through. ...

The sound of rattling coaches fades away, only to bring upon one's senses another sound: a tractor at work. A couple of hundred yards walk brings one to a scene where a bulldozer is at work. Broken rocks and roots, loose alkali dust and other debris litters the landscape a few dozen feet wide and as far in length as the eye can see, - an indication of yet another link in the new trans-provincial highway.

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Nearby is situated the camp office ... Not a Japanese was in sight. They are located - about 100 of them - approximately a mile from the station.

An old road leads to the camp, the first building in evidence being a painted structure bearing a small legend on the door, 'Red Pass Hospital.' ... To the right and beyond, are the Japanese quarters - the exterior of which is truly 'a little bit of the Far East.' Cultivated flowers, transplanted evergreens, diverted waters into miniature lakes and rivers containing half grown fish, tiny islands, decorated woodwork bridges and pole park benches have been set out about the place at random.

As in the case of the other camps there will be found the communal Japanese baths, ...

But the hospital - a nine bed affair - was a revelation. One passes through the ward to reach the dispensary, a bright and attractively arranged room for treatment and medical supplies. In addition there is a twenty-bed marquee, and a separate tent for isolation cases. Still incapable of holding the many patients, a second marquee is now under construction.

No major operations are carried out here, due to the lack of proper equipment, but the administering of anaesthetics for minor operations, dental work, etc. is done ... Edwin Taguchi, formerly of Hammond, B.C., an efficient first aid man and holder of a diploma of masseur and diaphthermy (electric massage) and Sue Fukunago, a former printer in Vancouver, who has charge of the writing of patients' reports, bookkeeping and stenographic work.

An interesting sidelight was given ... in contrasting the Nipponese and Occidentals. A white man receiving injuries might receive attention from one of ten brothers passing by; a toothache in one Japanese head is cause for concern by the whole camp. A hospitalized Jap is the immediate recipient of letters and telegrams of condolence; a white man could be 'laid up' for a month without a word or visit from the outside.

...

That is Red Pass Junction today. That is Red Pass with its single store doing more business in one day, than some city stores in several. ...

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But, not seen by the travelling public, train passengers are unaware of the transformation being effected over the hills, beneath the tall, straight growths which are British Columbia's forests. The motorist tomorrow will see a finished project - that long-awaited thoroughfare which is to link this province directly with the most northerly national park and Alberta's capital city, even though the people in these parts continue to 'cross their fingers'."

On July the 16th, the first of periodic attempts was made to allow the NMEG internees in the P.O.W. camps the opportunity to leave. F.P. Varcoe, Deputy Minister of Justice, wrote to Commissioner Wood suggesting that the internees at Petawawa be informed by Assistant Commissioner Mead of the new BCSC policy of evacuation of family groups with the hope that many internees might be persuaded to agree to comply with the plan of evacuation. (23)

MacNamara wrote to Taylor on July the 17th, telling him that "*... the Labour Department is under instructions from the Cabinet to remove camps as soon as possible from locations paralleling railways ...*"

In addition, MacNamara had discussed the matters in the letter with the general staff of National Defence, and the ones he had talked to had questioned the wisdom of opening up camps and establishing families along a highway which was supposed to be of military importance. He added that Mines and Resources thought that the proposal was an attempt by the province to get maximum work done at Dominion expense, especially since it was "*the pet*" of the Provincial Minister of Public Works, Mr. Bruhn. (9)

On the 17th of July, Pedro Schwartz, the Spanish Consul General and Ernest Maag, the International Red Cross Representative, visited the Hope-Princeton and the Yellowhead-Blue River road camps, as the representatives of the Japanese Government. Included in the inspection party were Commissioners Meade and Shirras of the BCSC, Dr. Rive, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Mr. Bernard, Spanish Vice-Consul, and C.M.

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Walker, Supervising Engineer, from Banff. Walker submitted a very comprehensive report on the inspection tour on the 20th to Chief Engineer Mills in Ottawa. (see Appendix Chapter III, 13., for complete text)

"The N.C." July 18th,

"The Camp Corner

*Grant Brook 'Old Men' also Proud
of Their Gardens, Shrub Exhibits*

by T. Komiya

Grant Brook, B.C.- Ernest Trueman of the B.C. Security Commission was a recent visitor to our camp, thus affording us an opportunity to convey certain ideas and requests to the authorities through our representatives.

Having completed the work of clearing away brush and removing old ties from an abandoned railroad track, the men in our compare now engaged in levelling out the road, using the caterpillar.

On the evening of July 5 a social was held jointly by the Japanese men here and the Occidental folk, with a number of Occidental women attending. An enjoyable program, including harmonica and banjo solos, vocal renditions 'naniwabushi' (sing-song recitation of ancient Japanese war history) 'Goshu-ondo' (music for Japanese folk dancing). and other novelty acts was presented. The evening came to an end with the singing of the National Anthem.

* * * *

Softball games are enjoyed every Sunday on the Moose River flats. Recently we were hosts to a team from Rainbow, which our team comprising both Japanese and Occidental players defeated them after some struggle. In this 'Old Men's Camp' we are very proud of this victory.

Under the supervision of Mr. Inouye, five of us have built gardens in both Western and Japanese fashion. These gardens are winning the admiration of many visitors from other camps. Some of the men here have made magnificent collections of over eighty variety of shrubs and mosses which they have brought down from the surrounding mountains."

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

D/Sgt. Woods reported on his tour of the road camps along the Y-BR Highway, beginning on the 19th of July, as requested earlier by Commissioner Wood, in order to assess the attitude of the men after the decision had been made to reunite the married men with their families. He reported that all the former *"tension and hostility"* had been eliminated, but that a very important question was brought up by the single Nationals. *"Why does the Security Commission not allow us the same opportunity to earn a decent living for ourselves, as is given to other individuals classed as Enemy Aliens of German, Italian, and other origin?"* Woods' recommendation was that the Security Commission should seriously consider the placement of the single Nationals in industrial employment as soon as the arrangements could be made with Ontario. Otherwise, his view was that this question would create further problems in the future. (25) (see Appendix Chapter III, 13., for the complete text of Woods' report)

"The N.C." July 22nd,

"Worker Killed at Gosnell Camp

Funeral services were held in Vancouver Tuesday, July 21, for Minomatsu Onodera, of Vancouver, who was killed in a cave-in while working at the Gosnell work camp, 29 miles north of Blue River last Saturday. Sixty-two years of age, Mr. Onodera was ordered to the work camp early in March and had worked there steadily since then. Born in Miyagi-ken, Japan, he came to Canada as a young man and served with the Great Northern Railway company for 29 years, up to the outbreak of the war.

He is survived by a son John, and a daughter Mrs. Teruo Ujiye". (Author's note: Onodera was one of two of the Exiles to lose his life while working on the road projects to the best of my knowledge.)

"The N.C." same issue,

"Report Says Evacuation Two-Thirds Complete

...

(1) Road Camps

2,122

THE EXILES

<i>Blue River-Yellowhead</i>	1,237
<i>Revelstoke-Sicamous</i>	502
<i>Hope-Princeton</i>	257
<i>Ontario Camps</i>	126

...

Mr. Mitchell said that the original plan to place all physically fit men in road camps had been changed owing to the feeling against family break-up. 'It became evident that if this issue was enforced, a large percentage of men, women and children would have to be interned,' Mr. Mitchell said. 'The cost of so doing would have run into millions and in addition would have run contrary to government policy'.

Another factor was the agitation against the placing of camps near main rail lines.

(It is indicated that the Blue River-Yellowhead camps will be closed, and the men transferred to Hope-Princeton and to Slocan. Revelstoke-Sicamous camps, however, may remain open as long as weather permits, possibly as a project for single men").

The quick decision to remove the married men from the camps and close down the Y-BR project resulted in some confusion on the part of the Engineers and the Commission. On the 25th, Supervising Engineer Walker wired Assistant Engineer Mitchell his understanding of the shut-down, as a result of his visit to the Commission at Vancouver. He understood that immediately or as soon as possible all the married men would be placed in settlements for families, and by the 15th of September, all Japanese were to be removed from the Y-BR project. The Commission already had a representative, E. McGachan, at Red Pass working with Mitchell to completely close down the camps at Geikie, Decoigne and Yellowhead. (21)

"The N.C." July 25th,

**"COUNCIL SURVEYS SKILLS OF CAMP WORKERS
SEEK DETAILED DATA TO AID PLACEMENT AFTER**

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

ROAD PROJECTS ARE SHUT DOWN

Vancouver, July 25. - 'What have you done? What can you do? What would you like to do'?

These questions are being put to British Columbia road camps in a survey now being conducted by the Japanese Canadian Citizens Council, in co-operation with the B.C. Security Commission to learn the skill, experience and preference of the men, as a basis for possible future employment elsewhere than in road camps.

Questionnaires have been sent to some thirty camps, seeking details on each man's experience, education and training, and asking what kind of work the individual would like, and in what district or project he would like to work.

'It is well-known that some of the road camps will shut down in the near future, and men re-united with their families,' Eiji Yatabe, secretary of the Nisei Council said today. 'Although plans have been laid to provide some with future employment, there is no reason why, with the acute shortage of workers all over Canada, everyone cannot be given a useful job.'

Co-operation Needed

The co-operation of the men in the camps, as well as of the officials and camp committees is earnestly requested, in order that the survey should be as complete and comprehensive as possible.

'We believe ... and the Security Commission has agreed, that this information will be of very great value in later programs to place both married men with families and young single men in remunerative, self-supporting positions,' Mr. Yatabe declared.

'Of course there is no guarantee that jobs will be available,' he continued, 'but there is a definite chance more opportunities will be available to both Issei and Nisei as the general labor shortage becomes more acute' ''.

"The N.C." same issue,

"The Camp Corner

Thunder River Claims 'Best Set-up' Title

by Staff Correspondent

THE EXILES

Thunder River, B.C. - Ernest Trueman on behalf of the B.C. Security Commission was a recent visitor to our camp at Thunder River. After supper on June 29, forty of us met with him for an hour's discussion. As a result, four recommendations were passed,

1 That the men be re-united with their families

2 That wages be raised so that men will be able to meet their living expenses

3 That correspondence be speeded up

4 That unnecessary restrictions be removed to allow more freedom in camp living.

* * * *

Dominion Day Celebration

On Dominion Day we had about twenty visitors from Red Sands who came by train. Home team games were suspended in favor of a game with Red Sands in which we came out on top with a score of 9 - 6.

After a bath and lunch, the men gathered in the shade of the trees and the bridge to discuss the future of the world and present day civilization in relation to road camp living. In the evening a concert was held with Mr. Yoshida as master of ceremonies. The program was under the direction of Mr. Inouye and men from Red Sands were included.

Thunder River is able to boast the best managed and equipped camp in the Blue River area. Much credit is due the camp foreman and the co-operative nature of the men. A rotating ten-men camp committee is elected every month and directs a good deal of the camp activity. Some of our men have recently gone back to Vancouver. We had a farewell party for Mr. Kato, carpenter foreman, Mr. Irizawa, blacksmith, and our capable chairman, Mr. Ogaki.

Baseball Interest Running High

by T. Nakano

Decoigne, Alta. - The intense heat of mid-summer is now felt at our scenic work camp in Decoigne. But lowering our eyes from the last lingering traces of snow up on the towering peaks of the Seven Sisters, we can see the gentian blooming all over the plateau at our feet. Their beauty brings a sense of comfort to harried minds.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Baseball Running High

Baseball enthusiasm is at its height in this camp, ...

We wish Mr.Yoshimichi Uno and Kenji Tsuchibashi, at present confined in the Red Pass and Vancouver hospitals a speedy recovery.

* * * *

Blackspur Bathes in Hot Spring

by Staff Correspondent

Blackspur, B.C. - The first report to The New Canadian from this camp, in the Blue River-Yellowhead section, should contain a description of the camp. It consists of five improvised cabins, in a clearing from which we can view the peaks of the Albreda Mountains.

Near the stream gurgling down at a side of our camp is the bath-house which makes us feel as if we are bathing in hot springs since the bubbling sound of the stream can be heard from there.

Thirty-six of the original quota of fifty men are still here in camp, after some had left for other projects. Although life here is 'unnatural and unadorned', we manage to live pleasantly, cultivating sincere good relations among the men.

Our camp foreman is an elderly man of some seventy years, with long experience in road construction. He understands fully the tide of events which have created this unnatural situation, and thus far we have had no trouble.

A lack of recreational facilities has moved us to seek amusement by carving and making various articles from the wood of wild cherry trees. Some of these articles are slippers,(Japanese 'geta'), tobacco trays, picture frames, tea trays and toy boats. A competitive exhibition of these handicraft articles is being planned.

* * * *

A month ago a softball league was organized here, under the leadership of Naggie Nishihara former Asahi pitcher. Named after the animals which inhabit the hills around here, the teams including the Bears, the Wildcats and the Moose play every evening after supper. Wildcats are now leading the league, with 9 wins to 3 losses".

THE EXILES

On the 27th and 29th of July, the Edmonton Journal reported on the imminent closing of the camps at Geikie and Decoigne and termination of work on the Y-BR Highway. The story on the 27th ended with the comment: *"Jasper residents have long been protesting about Japanese working in that area. This grievance is now removed but the probable closing down of the work may cause another one"*. The story on the 29th reported that the last of the workmen in the two camps in Jasper National Park had been removed. The story also reported that: *"Some of the Japanese, especially some of the younger members, were said to be reluctant to leave the camps where they had good lodgings, good meals, and work at 25¢ an hour"*.

"The N.C." July 29th,

***"CLOSE ALL ROAD CAMPS BY MIDDLE OF AUGUST
THREE NOW SHUT DOWN; WORK SOUTHWARD
NO RECALLS FROM SICAMOUS AREAS***

Vancouver, July 29. - Closure of all highway camps for Japanese nationals in the 200-mile stretch from Blue River to Jasper, Alberta, and the transfer of all married men to projects at Hope or Slocan through a Hope clearing station, will be effected by the middle of August, it was indicated Tuesday by Security Commission officials.

The camps will be closed progressively from the Alberta end, Decoigne, Geiki, Yellowhead being shut down Tuesday, July 28. Men in these three camps, totalling 173, are due in at Hope today.

By Friday, Lucerne with 86 men, Fitzwilliam, 22, Grant Brook, 89, and Rainbow, 74, with a total of 271, are due to be shut down.

It is not known definitely whether the work of constructing a road to Blue River through the Yellowhead Pass has been abandoned by the Federal Government authorities, or whether the work will continue under some other scheme.

Only a few 'key men' are being left in each camp until definite word comes from Ottawa regarding the closing of the camps.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

MAINTAIN CITIZEN CAMPS

It is understood that only married men will be sent to the interior housing projects, and that in future no single men will be sent even from Vancouver city. Single workmen now at Slocan or Hope it is indicated, will be transferred from there, unless sufficient housing is available for their use after all the married men have been settled.

It is thought that the camps on the Revelstoke-Sicamous section, now occupied by naturalized or Canadian-born citizens, will be maintained, and that single men will be sent there. Although the work in northern camps was termed 'unsatisfactory', general approval has been voiced over the progress of these more southerly camps, and the road from Sicamous to Revelstoke is reported to be in better shape than ever before.

At present, transfers from these camps, even of married men enjoying citizenship status, is not being permitted.

EARLY LAST SPRING

The nationals camp in the Yellowhead area were opened early last Spring, when the first 100 men were sent to Rainbow and Lucerne, February 23. Between that date and April 1, dead-line for the removal of nationals, some 1500 men were rushed out to these camps. Large numbers were later transferred to sugar beet farms in Alberta and Manitoba and more recently many have been recalled for interior settlements.

Although many attempts were made by the men themselves to make their camps homelike and comfortable, gardens, baths and so forth were built, and recreation was organized through baseball leagues, it was always recognized that the camps were an unsatisfactory solution to the evacuation problem. Chief reason for this lay in the fact that married men were sent out to these camps away from their wives and children, who remained to be evacuated to the interior.

Value of the road construction work, too, was discounted, and no effective machinery was sent in to make any progress evident".

THE EXILES

"The N.C." same issue,

"Camp Workers Discuss Problems With Neutral Officials

RED PASS, B.C. - Since the head office of all the road camps in the Blue River-Yellowhead area is located at Red Pass, this camp has taken a lead in the study of problems which have arisen at all the camps and in attempts at their solution. Recently the announcement that officials of the Protecting Power Commission would visit us here, moved us to call up representatives of the neighboring camps to consider representations to the inspecting party. A summary of our conversations with Pedro E. Schwartz, Consul-General for Spain follows:

- (1) In regard to correspondence with relatives in Japan, this was reported as possible by using special forms which may be secured from the Spanish consul-general in Montreal, or the vice-consul in Vancouver. These letters are handled through the International Red Cross.
- (2) Freedom for Japanese in Canada outside the protected area. This question the consul-general said, rests entirely with the Canadian government, except for suggestions which might be put forth by the Protecting Power Commission.
- (3) Return of Japanese nationals with families in Japan to that country. The exchange of nationals between belligerent countries, Mr. Schwartz said, is already underway, and the first exchange ship is due to reach Japan around August 16. This exchange is expected to be continued, but it may be that women and children will be given a prior consideration in this matter.
- (4) Compensation for losses incurred as a result of evacuation. This matter according to the officials, will be best handled through the Custodian. Adequate measures, however, may be taken in case of unreasonable action.
- (5) Raising of maintenance allowances for evacuees. This question also is a matter of internal concern for the Canadian government, and the Spanish consul-general can only make suggestions to the government.
- (6) Delay and non-arrival of mail, Mr. Schwartz said that this matter had also been raised at other camps, also, and steps were being taken to see if the situation could not be remedied."

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

On the 1st of August, Commissioner Mead asked the OC of "E" Div., of the RCMP in Vancouver, for the services of Sp.Const. Upton to accompany two men named Tanaka and Nishio to explain to Internees the policy of re-uniting families. Upton's presence would make the plan more acceptable to the internment authorities since he was familiar with the Japanese language. (23)

On August 4th, Schwartz, the Spanish Consul General, wrote to A. Rive, the Undersecretary of State for External Affairs, with his report on the examination of the Settlements and the Road Camps. The first item on his report on the Road Camps was the Red Pass Camp where he met on July 18th with the camp delegation consisting of D.Kondo, I.Mioshita and M.Kanamitsu. At that time about 80 men were at the camp, all Nationals. The camp conditions were good, but the men complained that the foreman was hard on the men. They also complained about their lack of freedom, permits were necessary to go outside the camp area. They were also concerned about the property which they had to leave behind in the hands of the Custodian and the lack of recreational facilities.

He also met at Red Pass with I.Hatanaka, also a National, the delegate from the Red Sand-Blue River Camp, who had a written brief identical to the Red Pass brief.

Only he and Maag, the International Red Cross representative, went to the Rainbow Camp, about six miles east of Red Pass, where they received another brief identical with the others.

They also went to Geikie, late in the afternoon, where they met with delegate, O.Tsuchikawa, and received another brief similar to the others. He commented on the poor water supply at this camp, and the men's dissatisfaction with living in tents. Again lack of freedom and recreational facilities was a complaint. Camps in the vicinity which were not visited were: Fitzwilliams, Grant Brook, Lucerne and Yellowhead.

Nishio and Tanaka submitted their own report submitted as schedule "B" with the Schwartz letter to Rive. (See Appendix Chapter III, 14. for complete text) (24)

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On August 10th, Constable Upton made his own report to Hill, about his trip to the Camps with Nishio and Tanaka. His comments were very harsh, and are reproduced in part only, for brevity:

"(6) Under the circumstances perhaps the time is not inopportune to consider whether other methods could not be adopted to put a stop to the present situation whereby the orders of the Commission are flouted and strikes in the work camps appear to be the order of the day.

(7) The following suggestions are submitted in this connection

a) To deprive mal-contents of their Canadian Citizenship

b) To deport such mal-contents to Japan after the war

c) To prosecute Canadian-born and Naturalized

Canadians in the Civil Courts for disobedience to orders and sentence them to terms of imprisonment with hard labour

(8) It might be said in connection with suggestion a) that no legal machinery exists at the moment to deprive a Canadian citizen of his nationality or his birthright. However if such action is deemed advisable, no doubt the necessary legislation can be put in force without delay". (26)

"The N.C." August 5th,

"Prompt Response to Camp Survey

Prompt response and gratifying co-operation from road camps is reported by the Japanese Canadian Citizens Council secretary Eiji Yatabe in the Council survey of available manpower, skills and preferences of the workers in the camps.

'Of course it is impossible to promise that positions can be found by the council for large numbers of men, but we are hopeful that this information will tie in with the efforts of the Security Commission to place as many of the men as possible in useful and productive employment Mr. Yatabe said.

'Fortunately we are able to cover most of the camps before the closure was started, and many interesting things have been revealed.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

The married men practically without exception, are anxious to move to evacuation towns where their families are now settled. On the other hand, quite a large number of single nationals state that they would like to go to Ontario or Quebec to work, and failing that, they don't mind staying in the road camps.

Nearly all the Nisei and naturalized citizens, both married and single, in the B.C. road camps are also very anxious to go to work in the various evacuation towns even though they are working hard at their present jobs. It is to be hoped that some consideration will be given to them, for their record of willing co-operation certainly deserves a full reward,' Mr. Yatabe declared.

"The N.C." August 12th,

***"Married Men Only Moving First From Nationals Camp
Single Men Going To Four Princeton Sites
Expect Quiet Time Without Worried Husbands***

Red Pass, B.C. - Latest reports here indicate that the married men only will be moved out first from remaining camps in the Blue River-Yellowhead section, instead of closing camps down completely or transferring a daily quota under the previous system employed.

The transfer of married men from camps west of Tete Jaune is proceeding this week, following which, it is thought, it will be extended to cover the single men.

At first camps were being closed down completely. Later a daily total of sixty were removed. These numbers, however, led to some confusion and congestion at the Hope Clearing Station, thus necessitating a change.

By the end of last week some 440 men of the original total of 1526 were left in these camps. 284 left last week and 286 the week previous.

Tent camps at Decoigne and Yellowhead have been completely dismantled, and Geiki closed. At Lucerne there are now 29 men, 23 at Fitzwilliam, 28 at Grantbrook, none at Rainbow, 25 at Red Pass, and 24 at Tete Jaune.

THE EXILES

Meanwhile arrangements are going ahead to accomodate the single men in four camps at the Princeton end of the Hope-Princeton highway."

Instructions on exactly who were to be removed first, from the camps along the Y-BR highway, were obviously not clearly explained to the Commission representative sent to the camps to organize the shut-down. On the 12th, Mills sent a memo to Wardle quoting from a letter which he had received from Walker. Apparently Walker had received a telephone call from Eastwood, the General Manager of the BCSC in Vancouver, telling him that the Commission was not in a position to handle single men. Mr. McCahn (or McMachan) the Commission's representative, had cleared 175 men from the Decoigne, Geikie and Yellowhead camps, when the District Engineer was absent, leaving no men to effect an orderly shut-down of the camps. In addition, the localities the men were sent to were overwhelmed by the unexpected numbers. Single men were not to be removed from the camps until approximately the 15th of September. (10)

"The N.C." August 15th,

"Tete Jaune Camp

Workers To Stay For \$700 Crop

By Michiyoshi Yamamoto

Tete Jaune, B.C. - With the departure of sixty men from our camp at Tete Jaune on August 5 and 6, the remaining twenty-four of us are now occupied in putting the camp into shape.

Our group had expected to leave here on August 17, but last Friday were notified by the camp supervisor at Red Pass that we were to remain at the camp until October to harvest the crops on the farm attached to the camp. This arrangement may of course be altered later but for the present, we expect to stay here for some time yet.

Some days ago, when the closure of this camp was announced, our head foreman, J.K. Makale, asked us to do him a favor and send him copies of 'The New Canadian' to his home in McBride so that he could keep in touch with us after our departure.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Aside from Messrs. Abe, Iwata, Uyematsu and myself, all the men left in this camp are unmarried or have families in Japan. We married men may leave the camp at any time, but intend to stay here until it is closed.

In any case there is more than \$700 worth of food crops waiting to be harvested on the farm. Then too, the thought that during the four past months we have been instrumental in clearing about four square miles of virgin bush country, and constructing two miles of road, all by the power of our hands alone, makes us feel as if this place was our very own."

"The N.C." same issue,

"Goodbye Bill - Good Luck!"

By Kinzie Tanaka

It seems ages ago now on all that has transpired since the first voluntary Japanese stepped up to be sent to these mountainous regions. Yet it was only in the latter days of shivering February, that these hardy fellows landed at Rainbow, at Red Pass, at Lucerne and Geikie, barely six months ago. A new life settled upon them when they left the warmth and turmoil of Vancouver and came to the freezing, frightening peacefulness of the Rocky Mountains. From their trains they were tossed out bag and baggage into three feet of snow with nothing to greet them but a forlorn string of cold, empty bunk-cars. However in that mountain coldness there was a bit of warmth, a bit of human warmth that greeted the boys. Yes, the Japanese were not entirely alone for there was a man to help them along, a man that every worker on the Blue River-Yellowhead Highway Project will remember with respect. He is W. 'Bill' Wishart, Supervising Foreman.

He left the comfort of his Victoria home at the request of the Provincial Government to organize this project. His was a 'tough' job. Starting from scratch with little next to nothing and with a group of men of uncertain temperament that had to leave their homes because of military necessity, built an organization of camps that we Japanese are not exactly ashamed of now that the Government have the men on the move again, many of them feel reluctant to leave for they have built a home in this wilderness.

A Man of Understanding

THE EXILES

As they leave, they will remember Mr. Wishart as the man that always had a very sympathetic ear for their troubles. They will remember him as the one that always did his best for the men in the camps even under difficulties. They knew that they could go to him with their troubles and he would listen patiently and kindly and if it were in his power he helped them in every way. He understood why these men were sent here and how they had to be removed under pressure of circumstances. He knew that they were abruptly separated from their families, from their homes, from their lifelong surroundings, from their friends; all this he knew and he was kind.

In the beginning when everything was too new and difficulties and inconveniences were our common lot, when there were no tubs for baths, when the mail took two weeks to arrive from Vancouver, when the food supplies were sometimes sent astray, Mr. Wishart was the man that put all his past organizational experience to advantage to overcoming these problems. The men liked him for they knew he was human.

After the initial problems were overcome and the camps were built, other problems arose and had to be met. Problems that dealt with human relations. Relations that arose between the men themselves and between the men and their occidental camp workers and supervisors. One needed to thoroughly understand the mental unrest of the men in the camps to judge fairly the conflicts that arose.

Worked Hard for Peace

He knew that the men were worrying about their families, about their possessions that took long years of hard work to gain, about their seemingly hopeless future. He took all this into thought when troubles flared and tempers of men were short. During the strikes of the men at some of the camps, he was the one that worked ever so hard to restore peace in the camps. True some of the men were interned, that was beyond his power to retrieve. Some of the men were selfish and certainly were an unsuitable influence in the camps and the other Japanese recognized that fact. But on the whole he knew that the greater majority of the men were fine fellows and he did his best for them. They found out he was fair,

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

just. His recommendations to the Dominion Government to unite the men with their families certainly found attentive ears. Many things were beyond his power and power to cope with which was a loss, but all that came within his orbit of influence recognized in him a fine man.

As this project draws to a close for us and we go to other destinations we have a hope in our minds that we will be as fortunate in our new locations as we have been here with Mr. Wishart. As we leave, so also does he, for his job is finished, a job well done. We say goodbye 'Bill' and good luck, not as Japanese to a solid Scotsman but as men of goodwill hoping we will meet again in the future when racial hatreds and antagonisms will fall away by the force of the individual characters we possess. Where the intrinsic fineness of mankind of all racial origins will be our ultimate guidance in the future."

"The N.C." August 19th,

"Albreda's Tribute

Men Found Real Friend In Bill

By C.I.Okawara

Albreda, B.C. - With the gradual closing of highway construction camps from Yellowhead to Blue River, we will soon bid adieu, and say, 'Twas a short stay, but pleasant memories.'

Representing Albreda Camp, we want to pay a special tribute to Mr. William J. Wishart, who is supervising foreman of the department of mines and resources, stationed at Red Pass head office.

Mr. Wishart's untiring efforts as 'able' trouble shooter have kept this string of camps in good running order. Whenever there is trouble, he always appears with the same old smile on his face, with wrinkled hat, and small pack sack swung over his shoulder. No matter how complicated the question, always manages to smooth out the whole situation in a very short time in a manner which is nothing short of amazing.

Mr. Wishart first came to Canada in 1905. 'That's long before you were born, son,' is his laughing answer to the question 'When?' He will be leaving for Victoria where he will be with the Department of Public Works. We join in a chorus of good wishes

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to him - for continued success, prosperity and good health. I am sure that all of us will remember him as the most valuable friend we had when we recall our short stay in these road camps."

"The N.C." August 22nd,

"Single Nationals Still Pushing Highway Along

By Fred Okamura

THUNDER RIVER. - *All the married men left this camp not far north of Blue River before August 10, and with only single men left here, work is still going ahead on road construction.*

Only 200 feet now remain before we meet the crew working in our direction from Red Sands, and it is a moving picture to see the men hard at work, eager to complete the job.

On August 19, a ball game was played between the local Occidental team and our boys. Showing superiority from the start, our team finally wound up on top 17 - 15. Playing on the nine were Kurashima, 1b; Okui, cf; Yamauchi, lf; Okamura, ss; Tateyama, c; Terakawa, 3b; Tokitsu, 2b; Tsunoda, rf; (Umpire, Okui.) "

(Author's note; ninth player, pitcher not shown.)

It turned out that the Government was on the horns of a dilemma. A decision was made to shut the Y-BR project down because of the fear of sabotage, but now second thoughts began to be expressed concerning the necessity of completing the road. On August 28th, Crerar, the Minister of Mines and Resources, wrote to Ralston, the Minister of National Defence, telling him that a letter had been received from Mitchell, the Minister of Labour, suggesting that the single men be left in the camps to finish work on a road which would allow trucks and machinery to be used effectively. On September 3, he followed up with another letter enclosing a copy of a letter from the Minister of Public Works of BC. Crerar noted that at this time there were still 250 single men in the camps. (10)

On September 8th, Charles G. Power, Associate Minister of Defence, replied to Crerar in Ralston's absence. Power was definitely not in favour of postponing the removal of the single men because it was reported that: " ... these people were very

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disinclined to work and their general temper and outlook was becoming progressively unsatisfactory from a security point of view. Moreover the constantly increasing importance of the railway makes it imperative to eliminate the threat of sabotage due to the presence of Japanese near vulnerable bridges and cuts".
(10)

The factions pushing for completion of the road were not about to give up with the first refusal. On the 14th of Sept. Crerar replied to Power pointing out that: *"The situation has changed considerably over the past few weeks. The single Japanese remaining in these camps (about 250) have, since the removal of the married men, worked comparatively well and recent inspections by our senior officers did not reveal an attitude that would indicate danger of sabotage. This was confirmed by members of the British Columbia Security Commission in recent discussions with the Director of our Surveys and Engineering Branch, and Mr. Austin C. Taylor, Chairman of the Commission, and his associates who were strongly in favour of the work continuing with the single Japanese. An important factor which may not have been considered by your officers is that most of the road to be opened up lies between our camps at Gosnell and Thunder River and this section of the road is on the opposite side of the Thompson River to the Canadian National Railways line."* Crerar added *"This is a matter where the decision does not rest with our Department but is the responsibility of your officers and the officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police".* He ended his letter by saying *"As you may be aware strong representations are being made for the completion of a passable road this year, and this can only be done if there is a prompt decision."*

On the 19th, Ralston replied to Crerar's letter indicating that under the present circumstances, he was in agreement with the continuation of the work on the Y-BR highway between Gosnell and Thunder River. However, he insisted that the men working between Red Pass Junction and Tete Jaune be removed immediately because of the proximity of the railway line. If work was necessary to complete any more of the road, white labour would have to be used. (10)

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"

The N.C." September 5th,

"Section of North Road Named in Memory of Elderly Evacuee

A white grave post at the foot of a towering pine tree near the junction of the swift-flowing North Thompson and Canoe Rivers marks the spot where a 62 year old pioneer evacuee, Minomatsu Onodera, formerly of Vancouver, was killed in a slide while at work on the road at Gosnell Camp in July. Perhaps more enduring than the monument is the fact that the place where he was working at the time of his death has been named 'Onodera Cut' in his memory.

Mr. K.Naruishi, who was at Gosnell Camp and is now at Camp 3, Princeton, has photos of the monument which he will forward to any friends or relatives who wish to have them".

"The N.C." same issue, "By Fred Okumura

Thunder River Camp - The crew has now been split into two sections, with one working on the road in the westerly direction and the other pushing north to Lempriere. It is thought that as work goes on we will meet the crew coming southward from that camp.

...

Summer is rapidly fading and the autumn chill is in the air here in Thunder River. Already there is a powdery sprinkling of snow to be seen on the peaks of the southern mountains. The cooler weather though, helps the boys to work steadily at their jobs.

* * * *

GOOD-BYE TO THEM

Recently the camp said good-bye to the young fellows on the survey crew, all of whom are leaving to return to school. We marked their departure with a farewell ball game between ourselves and a team composed of the survey men and the mounties. Their team pulled away to a good start, but we managed to catch up. Finally, with the score tied at 22-all and the darkness falling, we called the game.

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We regret to see the survey lads go, for during the past couple of months their presence here has helped make camp life more enjoyable. We hope to meet them again some day, and in the meantime we wish them all the best of luck."

"The N.C." September 9th,

"Tete Jaune Men Greet Steveston Salmon Far up on

Upper Fraser River

By Michiyoshi Yamamoto

Tete Jaune. - Since the departure of 60 men from the road camp here in early August, the twenty-four of us who stayed behind have felt rather lonely. However, nine single men arrived recently from Blackspur and are now working with us in harvesting the vegetable crops.

At this season, in the far reaches of the Fraser River, schools of salmon are constantly moving upstream. When we realize that these fish have swum up this river, which winds for over 1200 miles through the plains and mountains all the way from Steveston it seems almost as if we were welcoming old friends from the coast.

This year the vegetable crop is yielding a great harvest, and we are making weekly shipments of the produce to Red Pass, since there is far more here than we can consume ourselves. No doubt the men there and perhaps in other camps, find great enjoyment in the Japanese vegetables which we ship out."

The Labour Department began to see whether other work could be found for the 250 single men in the camps along the Y-BR highway. On the 23rd, MacNamara was in touch with the Regional Superintendent of the UIC in Winnipeg to have him find a commercial lumber camp in Alberta, Saskatchewan or Manitoba willing to provide continuous work at the prevailing wage and board rate. (10)

Troubles did not disappear from the road camps with the removal of the married men. On the 24th, Corning the Assistant Engineer at Red Pass, reported on a strike of the men at The Albreda Camp around the middle of June. The trouble arose as a result of the need

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to transfer the men to the camp at Gosnell. The men refused to go because they did not like the set-up at this camp, particularly the baths and water supply. In addition, they objected to working with the present camp foreman, although Corning had thought that the relationship had been working out well. They wanted to be transferred to the Hope-Princeton project where the married men had gone. Corning was not in favour of replacing the foreman, and was going back to the camp to see if the situation could be resolved.

During the time between the end of September and the 17th of October, considerable activity was involved in getting these men back to work. There was a Burmis Lumber Co. in Alberta which wanted labour for their woods operations. The men in the Albreda Camp were told that they would have to go to a logging camp if they would not go to where their labour was required on the project. When told of the Burmis Co. need, they decided that they would volunteer for the work. However, after they had listened to what a Mr. Allan of the Lumber Co. had to say, they decided against this work. This refusal didn't really matter, because the Alberta Government agreement with the Dominion only covered agricultural workers, and there was a reluctance on the part of the Alberta Government to extend the agreement to cover other workers. The impasse was broken when the foreman resigned to go back to his farm, and the men decided that they would transfer to any other camp. They agreed to go to Thunder River where it was reported on October the 21st, in Corning's words, " ... *they appear to be quite content and for the present, at least, are working very well*". He closed with "*It is only recently I found out why all Japanese looked on this camp with horror. A Japanese was killed there this summer and apparently a wave of superstition gripped everyone as soon as a move to that camp was mentioned.*" On the 20th, Walker had reported to Mills that " ... *Corning would have been justified in discharging Cleavelly if he had been conversant with Cleavelly's treatment of the Japanese prior to Constable Ridley's investigation.*

There is no doubt that certain of the miscellaneous assortment of foremen and key men which we were forced to collect from various sources when beginning Japanese operations were unfit for this

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

particular kind of work, and it is a matter of time before such misfits can be entirely weeded out. On the other hand I would point out that certain of the foremen as selected by us were excellent men on construction work, if provided with a white crew. The task of carrying on road construction with Japanese who are in the main antagonistic to us, and who resent extremely the fact they were forcibly removed from their homes and businesses, is a task requiring a great deal of tact and forbearance on the part of the foreman and engineers concerned". (27)

Mills reported to Wardle in a memo on the 5th of November that Corning had reported: *"In fairness to Mr. Cleaveley, I want to point out that he never spares himself in his work. It must be admitted that he is somewhat tactless towards anyone who does not share his views as to what constitutes a day's work. Some of his remarks though were unduly stretched by one of the machine operators who Cleaveley had dismissed, and in that shape carried to the Japanese.*

... a request has been made to have ... elderly men from other camps removed to more favourable living conditions". (28)

"The N.C." September 26th,

"Build New Camp at Pyramid Falls *By Chiyoki*
Miyazaki

Pyramid Falls, Camp B-21. - A new road camp is now in process of construction here at Pyramid Falls, between Blue River and Lempriere, over 400 miles from Vancouver. With 15 men on the job, it is expected to be completed soon, and twenty men are to be transferred here from Lucerne. Immediately to the south of us are the camps at Thunder River and Red Sands.

With the approach of autumn, here in the foothills of the Rockies, the leaves of the poplar trees are golden-hued, and beneath their foliage we often see many cute fawn or baby deer.

These were seldom seen during the summer months. On the other hand, the tame bear which used to come around our camp, seem to have retired to hibernate for the winter already.

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The high peaks of the mountains are already sprinkled with snow, and the thought that we will be able to view their white-capped beauty until next summer is a pleasant one indeed.

The men at camp here were included in the first group sent to the camp at Lucerne last February. There within the sight of the lovely Seven Sisters, we worked, ate and slept together. When the time came to say goodbye, following the change in policy of the authorities, we felt as if we were parting from fathers and brothers. The Hammond group at Lucerne were transferred to Fitzwilliam August 14, and after spending a month there, were ordered to our present location.

Among this group are the following: Kyuichi Shimada, Isuke Takimoto, Gentaro Tamaki, Shigeru Hayashi, Kiichi Kaida, Akio Araki, Saburo Kamino, Harukichi Koga and Chiyoki Miyazaki.

* * * *

Mr. Kokichi Tanouye, who underwent an operation at the Jasper Hospital following an accident, is convalescing very nicely."

"The N.C." September 30th,

"Snow on the Mountains By S. Fujimoto

Red Pass, B.C. - Camp personnel at Grant Brook, including 27 men in all, has been transferred to the camp at Red Pass since August 17.

The number of men here at the headquarters of the camp system now totals over seventy, including some twenty who had been working here from the beginning and twenty who arrived from Lucerne.

The lofty mountains in these parts have been capped with snow since the end of August, and nowadays the mantle of white is falling gradually lower each day. When we observe how it approaches us more and more, we are reminded of the nearness of winter and feel a little melancholy".

"The N.C." October 3rd,

"Little Black and White Animals Push on With North Road

By Fred Okamura

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Thunder River, B.C. - Work on the important link between Blue River and Red Pass is progressing steadily here in the Thunder River section. The men in the highway camp here are all in good spirits, working even on the wettest days unmindful of muddy conditions.

The vanguard of the crew is working at a point two miles east, cutting brush, felling trees, and burning slash while behind them are three bull dozers which plough up and smooth out the roadbed. Already one mile of new road stretches eastward.

According to news reaching here, a new camp has been opened at Pyramid Falls, eight miles south of Lempriere.

Work has been going on here now for six months, and looking back, the last half-year seems a little unreal to us. The amount of work, hampered as we are by lack of experience and equipment, seems to more than justify our efforts. And when we travel along the road which was opened up recently, we cannot help but take pride in the thought that this is the fruit of our sweat and toil.

* * * *

In preparation for the winter months, the men began construction and stocking of two wood sheds recently.

The garden of the camp is still green with the vegetables left for us by the men who worked here formerly. Cabbages have grown to quite a size and will be gathered in shortly. 'Chosen Hakusai' (Korean white cabbage) is also doing well.

On the other hand, the garden peas are all gone, and we were greatly disappointed when the cucumber plants overnight were destroyed by cold after flowering just two weeks earlier.

This district is noted for two natural phenomena - violent thunderstorms, and those little black and white creatures known as skunks. Not a day passes that we do not have the visit from one of them roaming around our camp."

"The N.C." October 17th,

"North Camp Prepares Against Winter By M.
Yamamoto

Red Pass, B.C. - The general re-shuffling of road camps in Northern British Columbia staffed by Japanese nationals

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evacuated from the coast is expected to be complete soon, with the transfer of men to those camps best suited for winter conditions.

The camp at Tete Jaune, most northerly camp left open except for the headquarters site at Red Pass itself, was finally closed on October 10, and the men are being transferred to Blackspur, between Albreda and Gosnell Camps. Former workmen at Grant Brook are also being moved to the Blackspur site.

(It is understood in Vancouver that a number of camps in the North Thompson River section, north of Blue River, will be maintained throughout the winter. These include Red Sands, Lempriere, Albreda and Pyramid Falls.)"

(Author's note: this was the last edition of 'The N.C.' printed in Vancouver. The next issue, November 30, was printed in Kaslo.)

"The N.C." October 29th,

"Men Say Farewell at Banquet By Yoshi Higashi

Geiki, Alta. - A genuine 'parting is such sweet sorrow' atmosphere, tinged with a feeling of homesickness pervaded this camp Wednesday evening, where a farewell banquet was held for a group of twenty men who left here for the coast.

They are the first men to leave the camp, to rejoin their families at the coast, prior to moving again to sugar beet farms on the prairies, with their wives and children.

A wire was received about 4 o'clock in the afternoon by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at the camp notifying the men to entrain immediately for Vancouver.

Co-foreman of the camp, O. Tsuchikawa was toastmaster and chairman for the entertainment which followed. Speeches were heard by Y. Higashi, Y. Ogura and James Baker, camp superintendent. K. Kinoshita, and Y. Sakamoto responded on behalf of the men leaving.

Each of the six bunk tents and the cook's tent joined in providing the evening's songs, speeches and dances."

"The N.C.", same issue,

"Letters to the Editor

Editor The New Canadian

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Dear Sir: You can't realize just how eagerly the men in this work camp look forward to reading the New Canadian. Your policy of carrying news in Japanese for the Issei who cannot read English is an excellent step.

That means that readers who have enjoyed many of your former columnists and writers will have to be contented with less reading matter, but I am sure they will not object when they see the older folk enjoying your valuable publication.

May I caution you against the danger of painting a too rosy picture of the conditions in the camps since the men actually have to put up with with a good deal of inconveniences in many places.

However I would encourage you to make unflagging efforts to keep up the morale of the Japanese Canadians, especially the Nisei on whom depends the future history - good or bad - of Japanese Canadians.

Thumbs up!

Highway Camp No.1

Y.A."

On November 7th, Mills advised Wardle that the Black Lumber Co. in Blackspur was desperate for 15 men for their sawmill operations and were asking the Mines and Resources Engineers if Japanese at the Blackspur camp could be used. The wages were attractive at 45 ¢ per hour, accommodation was available, and the employment was deemed to be steady. Blackspur was located about sixty feet lower and 100 yards from the railway line but it was about three miles north of Gosnell and the Japanese were not supposed to be beyond Gosnell. Wardle wired Mead about the situation, telling him that the workmen were being removed from Blackspur, but that the use of Japanese in the sawmill would be inconsistent with the action being taken to remove the men from the road camp. Meade immediately wired back that Black Lumber was operating on Crown Land and under BC Labour Laws, Orientals were forbidden to be employed on Crown Land.

Between November 7th and the 20th, the problem of relocating the Blackspur men created much correspondence between the Engineers on the project and Mills in Ottawa because the men just

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would not go to Gosnell. The final resolution was to place the men in Lempriere and Thunder River Camps. (28)

In response to questions from J.M.Scott, Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, regarding the treatment of Japanese in the Road Camps, Rive, the First Secretary in the Department, wrote a memo on November 16th, only part of which follows:

"re: compulsory work and the granting of relief

(I) RELIEF, ... I should therefore include a sentence to the effect that in granting of relief there is no discrimination by reason of race or nationality but that all persons in Canada, whether Canadian Nationals or enemy aliens, and whatever their race are receiving the same treatment.

(II) COMPULSORY WORK: in part: ..."I think this despatch should repeat that the Canadian government have not forced any Japanese to work; that the Japanese who claimed they were interned because they refused to work were in fact interned because they were making trouble and trying to persuade other Japanese to stop work. It should be pointed out that Japanese who are not working, although well able to do so, are provided with sufficient food and shelter but that it cannot be expected that they would receive the same rations as the Japanese who are co-operating with the Canadian authorities in the work program".
(27)

The Kamloops Sentinel in an editorial in the November 26th edition came out in favour of the use of Japanese in the forestry industry in BC. This was in stark contrast to their stand in an earlier editorial of February 26th when the paper backed the stand taken by the Westsyde Residents, Board of Trade and the Kamloops and District Liberals who all objected to the relocation of the Japanese to the interior and their purchase of land. Parts of the editorial follow:

"Japs For The Lumber Camps.

Lumber production is falling off steadily. The reason: lack of sufficient labor in the woods to get out the logs. ...

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Interior lumbermen say that much of their difficulty in getting logs could be overcome if they were permitted to employ Japanese in the woods. ... It is known that the Japs are keen to go to work in the logging camps.

A year ago Kamloops would never have agreed to back any such request as having Japs employed in the woods. At that time Kamloops stood for having all Japanese interned. But things have not turned out that way and there would now be an improvement rather than a worsening of conditions if the Japanese were placed in supervised lumber camps.

Would it not be far sounder to have the Japs producing material needed to beat the Japs themselves?

The British Columbia Security Commission has given its approval to the plan.

The specific hitch is the clause in all timber sale contracts with the provincial forest branch that no Oriental shall be employed in removing timber from crown land. The Interior Lumbermen's Association and other organizations have made representations to Victoria to have this clause suspended for the duration - or until there is sufficient labor other than Oriental.

But action is not forthcoming.

We have a suspicion that this hesitancy may be political - and not necessarily confined to party. The cabinet at Victoria may just possibly be afraid to go on record on a matter which could so easily be thrown back at them at a later date.

This, of course, could be overcome by a dominion ruling under the War Measures Act, which would automatically override the provincial regulation.

The time has come now for action. The lumber is needed; and moreover British Columbia may wake up and find that the Japanese valued as workers capable of producing for Canada's war effort have been snapped up elsewhere."

"The N.C." November 30th,

Close Albreda Camp and Men Move to Thunder River

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Thunder River, B.C. - The highway camp at Albreda, on the Blue River-Yellowhead road project, was closed recently, upon completion of the work in that area. Improvements were made to the road east-wards for 15 miles and westwards for 9 miles. The camp personnel numbering 42 single men, were transferred here to the project at Thunder River. Recently, preparations for winter have occupied the men, with two more wood sheds being built, and 150 cords of wood stacked. Work is also going ahead on the road, in spite of many difficulties. H. Sato, F. Okamura"

On the 2nd of December, Mills informed Wardle by memo that at the 25th of November, the Blue River office reported that 284 men were still in camps, but it was expected that 31 sick and elderly men would be removed very soon. There were five camps still occupied, but the final plans called for only three camps to be occupied. They expected 100 men each at Lempriere and Thunder River, and 50 men at Pyramid. It was reported that: "*The spirit of the Japanese is fair. They are getting accustomed to winter conditions, and at present their behaviour is very good*". (27)

Another proposal to use Japanese labour in logging was received at the Banff Regional Office in early December from J.S. MacKechnie in Blue River who wanted to log about twenty-eight square miles of privately owned timber. This would employ about 35 to 40 Japanese men. There was some question whether the land in question was partly or entirely in Yoho National Park, and whether the Parks Bureau would permit logging within the Park boundaries with Japanese labour. However, this question really didn't matter, because the Defence Department: "*had suggested to the Department of Labour that it was inadvisable to have Japanese working in the forests of British Columbia*".

On December 24th, the Controller in the National Parks Bureau, J. Smart, confirmed his verbal conversation of December 11th with Wardle in which he indicated that the Parks Bureau would not have any objections to Japanese working in the Kootenay National Park or Yoho Park. In addition he wrote that: "*I believe that the Forest Service of British Columbia are sympathetic to having this*

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Order-in-Council rescinded so that Japanese labour can at least be used on timber operations outside the Pacific defence zone".
(27)

"The N.C." December 12th,

"Further Shifts in Road Camps

By Y. Masui

Blackspur, B.C. - Further transfers of camp personnel have been carried out in the road camps on the Blue River-Yellowhead section. Grantbrook men who have been here for some time were moved to Lempriere camp on November 27, and Tete Jaune workers were also sent from Blackspur to Thunder River December 1.

This last transfer disappointed a number of the men, who since their arrival here, have worked hard to put the camp in order for winter by cutting wood, building wood sheds and so forth.

The balance of the married men and the balance of those not physically strong or over sixty years of age are being sent to their respective interior towns."

The winter work which the men would be required to do, in the three camps which were to be kept open, was outlined in a report submitted to Mills by Walker on Dec. 24th.

"Thunder River Camp - Japanese.

Clearing, swamping and burning will be carried on both north and south from this camp during the entire winter months. It is quite possible also that considerable widening and grading can be done.

Pyramid Camp - Japanese.

Clearing, brushing and burning, together with whatever tote road construction can be carried on in view of heavy snow conditions. This camp will continue throughout the entire winter.

Lempriere Camp - Japanese.

Clearing, brushing, burning will be carried out both north and south from this camp. The sidehills particularly northerly from this camp and along the right-of-way are largely constituted of sand and light loam. Angledozers and shovels can very well work these sidehills throughout the entire winter.

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An effort will be made to break the road through from Lempriere to the North Thompson bridge site with possibly some work being done from Lempriere camp on the approaches to the bridge from the south. It is also possible that certain timber can be gotten out from this camp for the construction of the North Thompson bridge.

Gosnell Camp - All white.

This camp will be an all-white camp, the main object of operating this camp being to carry out the erection of the bridge over the North Thompson in order that there will be no unnecessary delay in the operations of road construction during the spring and summer." (28)

1943 - - - Year 2 of exile and negotiations on logging operations in Alberta were opened again in early January. However, after 33 men from Pyramid Camp were set to go, they changed their minds. They did not strike, but were only willing to work around the camp despite the fact that there was not enough work to keep all the men gainfully employed! This situation caused Corning to ask: "I would be pleased to be advised as to what action the Department suggests re these Japanese".

Wardle's reaction to this situation was to have Corning instructed to tell the men that if they would not obey orders, they would lose any rights to general leave. Also, since the men were Nationals, they could be moved anywhere: "regardless of their inclination in this respect".

The intransigence of the men was met by Corning's blunt directive to the men in the middle of January: "that unless they went to work at once and with a will that they would not be allowed to stay in that camp. They raised no argument and gave no further trouble,

...

The Japanese at Pyramid are exceptionally comfortable, and while they are, in the main, just like all the other Nationals, having no intention of exerting themselves, they are cunning enough to keep on the move sufficiently to justify, in their opinion, their pay, food and comfortable log quarters".

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

The Alberta logging opportunity was a surprise to Mills in Ottawa and his immediate response on the 11th, to Corning, was to ask if Alberta was now agreeing to the use of Japanese in logging; were these men the same who refused to work for the Burmis Co.; and how many were Canadian-born and Nationals.

Corning replied that the Commission had made the arrangements; the men were the ones who had refused the Burmis offer; the men were Nationals. However, negotiations were still continuing and the manager had cleared up some misunderstandings. (28)

"The N.C." January 9th, 1943,

" 'The Inside Story' "

Editorially, The New Canadian, in view of its unique position, is necessarily hedged about both with self-imposed and other restrictions. It is not always possible to present facts, nor can views and opinions be as freely expressed as in pre-war days nor even as forthrightly in the Nisei press today in our neighboring country to the south. But wherever freedom of expression is curtailed, it is done so in the sincere belief that the welfare and needs of Canadians of Japanese birth directly and indirectly are being thus best served".

"The N.C." January 16th,

"Lempriere Camp Makes Gift to Family of Tractor Driver Clark

By S.Takasaki

Lempriere, B.C. - We are pleased to report from Lempriere camp that it is not as cold as we first feared it would be, and with the days passing by pleasantly, everyone is in good spirits.

In the middle of December, seven men left here to go to work in Alberta logging camps. Even now there are requests for more men, and reports from Pyramid Falls camp say that 30 men from there may go to logging camps.

The tractor driver from the former camp at Jasper, K.R.Clark was killed on the morning of December 17, when the tractor he was

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driving overturned pinning him to the ground. The camp foreman was also on the tractor but he jumped to safety.

Mr. Clark was the father of three young children and had been planning to go to Jasper for the Christmas holidays. The whole camp was struck by the tragedy, and sent a gift of \$60. to the bereaved family."

"The N.C." January 30th,

"The New Canadian Regrets

The New Canadian regrets that owing to circumstances, this and the previous issue, and possibly the next, will reach our subscribers much later than usual. Owing to the interruption in mail service, news and feature material for the paper failed to reach the Government press censors in Vancouver for necessary approval on the scheduled date, thus delaying publication for three days. ...

Contributors and reporters are asked to note that because of press censorship, which requires all material to be approved in Vancouver before publication in The New Canadian, it is necessary that material reach the office in Kaslo on the previous Tuesday at the latest."

Lumbering companies continued to try to recruit Japanese labour for work in BC. Another company, Cox, Long (Pacific Coast) Limited wanted men at Black Spur. Of course, the Defence Department did not favour this use of Japanese labour and the officials were aware of this, but it caused Corning to ask: " *Is there any possibility that the objections raised by the Department of National Defence are unknown to any but this Department?"*

This situation eventually ended up in the Labour Department where H.T.Pammatt advised Wardle by phone that the request should be turned down. He told Wardle "... *the Defence Council is considering the advisability of allowing Japanese to work in logging camps or sawmills adjacent to main lines in view of lumber shortages, and we will be advised if there is any change of policy*". (27)

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The restriction against the use of Orientals on Crown Timber land was finally removed by the Dominion Government in February of 1943, making it possible for the logging industry to recruit Japanese labour from the camps and the Interior Settlements. The Government was not too anxious to see men leaving from the Road Camps because of the need to maintain construction activity. However, the removal of single men from the Settlements became a primary focus of government attention. The National Selective Service program, which up to then had not been applied to "*enemy aliens*", was now conveniently applied to force the movement of Nisei and Naturalized Japanese out of the Settlements by the use of Order-in-Council P.C. 946. This Order-in-Council empowered the Labour Minister, Mitchell: "*to require, by order, any person of the Japanese race in any place in Canada to proceed to any other place in Canada at such times and in such manner as he may prescribe*". It also gave Mitchell the power: "*to determine from time to time the localities in which persons of the Japanese race may reside*". (28)

"The N.C." February 27th,

"Camp Man Marries On Leave

In spite of the lack of recreational facilities, the hundred single men living here in the road camp in the remote mountain region of Thunder River are all in high spirits, awaiting the day of peace. They are fully aware of the circumstances which led to their removal from their homes, and are leading a friendly and cooperative life, free from any feeling of discontent.

The first group including Fujio Okumura, Taichi Tanaka and Kitaro Tsuji, who were given a two week leave to visit their friends and relatives in the interior towns are now back in camp. Marrying Miss S.Datoye Yamada, while visiting Vernon, Mr. Okumura, our camp boss, is now awaiting permission of the Security Commission to rejoin his wife.

It is hoped that other young men will take advantage of such opportunity to find their life partners and start a new life which has more meaning.

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On February 13, a second group of thirteen happy men left the camp. Their return is looked forward to by the men in the camp in pleasant anticipation of the latest news of the various evacuation centres.

Honoring our camp boss, Mr. Okumura, whose marriage was announced on his return to camp, a supper social was held on February 7.

S.Sato Thunder River, B.C.

* * * *

Letter From Pyramid

This small road camp of 40 men was composed of 20 men from Lucerne, 10 from Red Sands, and a few from Fitzwilliams.

A year has passed since we first arrived in camp. Today there are many incidents going on in the world and from our out-of-way road camps we are able to obtain a clear picture of the news. Certainly, especially for the young men, we have not lost much in the way of contribution to moral welfare.

Life in the road camp is not very pleasant. With every sunrise and sunset, we see the same faces in the same surroundings and a few have lost their ambitions. But our life is carefree.

Pyramid Falls, B.C.

C. Miyazaki"

Problems with men refusing to obey foremen's orders continued to arise. On March 4th, Corning sent Walker a letter naming three men, Y., T., and N. as having refused specific orders. Corning wrote: "The situation is difficult, we wish to avoid any arbitrary action if possible but believe that some steps should be taken to discipline the lazy and unwilling, if a fair work program is to be carried out this spring and summer".

The situation ended up with MacNamara writing on the 18th of March to George Collins, a new Commissioner of the BCSC, who had been appointed on February 5th. MacNamara suggested that the trouble makers be placed in the lumbering industry in BC when an occasion presented itself. He wrote that he would be interested in learning how this experiment with trouble makers worked out.
(27)

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

The N.C." March 14th,

"Blessed Event at Camp.

A blessed event occurred at this all-male Lempriere camp.

But the news does not become startling when we announce the birth of two pups to the foreman's dog. Attendant for the happy event was the camp caterpillar operator, Mr.'W', who made a bed for the mother-to-be in his own bunk and looked after her every needs. This is the story he told:

'When the first little pup appeared, the mother licked them carefully from head to tail. When the second one jumped out, the procedure was repeated. The pups were not able to open their eyes, but took to their mother's breast without a hitch'.

The birth of the pups is the talk of the camp. We are gratified to Mr. 'W' for his kindness. When we watch the mother and her offspring feeding, we cannot think of them as dumb animals but only as one of us.

S.Takasaki

Lempriere, B.C."

The stronger stand being taken by Corning when confronted by labour problems continued to keep the men in line. On April 8th, the forty-three men at Pyramid Camp presented a letter to W.S.Brereton, the accountant at Blue River, asking for the removal of the camp foreman James Stewart. They threatened to go on strike on the 15th if their request was not met. Corning held Stewart in high regard, he was: *"... very considerate in the care of his men, in feeding, housing and nursing"*. Corning had been at the camp the day before the letter was presented with no hint of the problem, but on receipt of the letter at Blue River, he returned and found most of the men working as usual, with no cessation of work. He told the men: *"... we intend to carry out a work programme this season and that sympathy was not going to be extended to them when they show a mutinous spirit"*. (see Appendix Chapter III, 15., for the complete text of the letter from the workers at Pyramid Camp)

When Walker received Corning's report on the situation, he told Corning: *"... you should immediately reduce them to two (2) meals a day, with the meals being made progressively thinner the longer the strike continues"*. (27)

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With the continuing efforts by lumbering companies to recruit men directly from the Road Camps, MacNamara wrote to Collins on April 29th, and told him that he had instructed Wardle: "... to refuse to allow recruiting in the road camps by logging operators or other prospective employers until permission is granted by you". He also wrote that Mead was definitely opposed to the use of Japanese anywhere along the main railway lines until the Defence Council lifted its opposition. (27)

On May 22nd, N. Robertson Under Sec't. of State for External Affairs wrote a letter to MacNamara, in which he advised him *"The Japanese government, however, has increasingly displayed an interest in Canadian born Japanese and as long as we treat Canadian born Japanese in a fashion different from that in which we treat other Canadian born persons of enemy race there is some logic in their position. At any rate we do not feel it wise to tell the Japanese government in so many words that they must confine their interest to Japanese Nationals. Once granted that they have an interest in Canadian born Japanese they might very well point out that to deprive these people of many of the rights originally possessed by Canadians and yet to insist that they undertake all the obligations and fall under all the regulations applying to Canadians is neither logical or just"*. (26) (Author's note: while I was looking through the many files, I came across a letter from the Department of External Affairs to the Labour Department, I believe, in which it was stated that the Japanese Government was asking for the whereabouts of our mother, Mrs. Shimizu of Victoria and her family. I understand this may have happened because our births, like many Japanese ones, were registered in Japan so that we had dual citizenship for some time.)

"The N.C." May 29th,

- "Story of a Road Camp By Carl Carlsen

SUGAR RATIONS

(From The Canadian Forum)

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Sugar was going to be rationed in the Japanese nationalist camps at last, and our camp records showed we were using four times as much as the indicated official allowances. Men outdoors in a cold climate use sweets in abundance and the Japanese are no exception to the general rule.

The storeman for our outfit told me, 'You fellows in the camp will simply have to cut down on sugar. Almost three hundred pounds a week! You probably will be getting around sixty. It is on a voluntary basis right now. But just wait. Soon it will be so that you simply won't get any more than so much'.

Up on the track of the railroad where we were camped in a work-train with one hundred Japanese recently exiled from the Coast area, I told the Japanese cook what the storekeeper had said.

There were three cooks, and many helpers, but Suyekichi Nakamoto was the most forceful; so it happened we were in the general habit of dealing with the cook car directly through him. He was a tall, slim, excitable young man, who spoke with dramatic gestures and flashing black eyes.

'What! Sixty pounds a week for over a hundred men! Can't do it, that's all. Hotcakes in the morning, cake or pie dessert, bread'. He counted them off on his fingers, 'Sixty pounds last little more than one day ... We need sugar for coffee, too. Don't forget'.

SENSE OF DISCRIMINATION

Then I told the white cook. Let me explain here that Japanese road camps are organized as much as possible along racial lines; so the two peoples are kept separate. This calls for a sense of discrimination, especially in the dining-room, since the Canadian-Japanese are passionately addicted to Canadian food - sugar and white bread for instance. They have abandoned their Japanese food almost entirely,

***WE DID IT** this way. The Japanese ate in one diner - two sittings. We white men ate in the other diner - one sitting. At first the cooks, our own white cook included, all worked together in the cook-car, until the Japanese who were most numerous, simply crowded the white man out. Men always crowd each other, and Japanese men are, above all things, manly.*

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We were going to move from the work-train on the siding to our permanent camp that was being built across the railroad track by the lake. At the permanent camp we would have everything separate from the Japanese - cook-house, dining-room, bath-house. The Japanese did not like it. Neither did I, because we were all, in a sense, workers together. Then one evening the Japanese boys invited me to have supper with them. Afterwards I told someone what a good cook the Nakamoto boy was. This seemed to indicate a subtle undermining of the white cook's integrity.

He was a mild, slight, middle-aged Englishman, with thin gray hair, a long thin nose, and clear blue eyes. He was a good cook, too. I saw him angry only twice. One time the stove in the cook-car went on a strike and refused to draw in a heavy snowstorm, just as he had put the pies into the oven; and again one time I had locked him in the meat-house by mistake for fifteen minutes.

NOT ENOUGH SUGAR

When I told him about the sugar, he said, 'Well if we can't have it, we can't have it. There is nothing we can do about it. We will just have to go without I suppose. Still they can't expect us to make pies and puddings if there isn't enough sugar. They'll have to do without them too, I guess'.

Then early in April we moved camp. The storeman was good to us; he sent us two whole sacks of sugar - two hundred pounds. But he warned us solemnly there would be no more until another allowance was due.

The white cook laughed, somewhat incredulously, I thought when I told him the rate was - about ten pounds a week. He was going into his own cook-house now, where he would be the sole chef and no interference. The foreman gave him a Japanese helper, however, a boy named Jimmie, who looked like a small edition of Premier Tojo, even to the oversized glasses.

Jimmie was a waiter in a chop suey place before the evacuation. He was very friendly. Off hours he painted pictures.

He complained, 'There is no scenery here - nothing but mountains.'

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That was true in a way. we were in the middle of the mountains. There were tall mountains all around us. The new camp stood on the hillside overlooking a frozen white and blue lake, just now spotted with emerald green patches of water where the spring sunshine was melting the ice. Across the lake, directly opposite, and facing us a steep mountain wall stood outlined against the cold Canadian sky.

The white cook and our teamster had bunks in one end of our store car. On moving day the teamster was helping with the supplies. He loaded them on the sleigh and dragged successive instalments of them over the patches of squashy spring snow on the lakeshore to the new storeroom. The cook hurried up to the camp early.

COOKS PLAY TRICKS

Everybody was very busy. It was late in the day, and the shadows on the lake were long, when I heard that the cook and the teamster, had appropriated an entire sack of sugar, half our precious stock, for the white men's cookhouse. Cooks often play tricks on each other. This one meant a hundred pounds of rationed sugar for twenty men and like amount for a hundred men.

I said, 'Mr. Gleason, that sugar will have to last ten weeks, until the middle of June'.

But Suyekichi Nakamoto, came into the Camp office, his eyes flashing and his apron tossed over his shoulders. The Japanese cook was angry.

'How come that other cook got just as much sugar as we got? He has only twenty men and we got a hundred. Took half the eggs, too', he added as an afterthought.

The situation was not very good. I said, 'Look here, Mr. Nakamoto, I can't help that now. He shouldn't have done it, and I did not know. I have been very busy today. We will fix it this way. We will charge that cookhouse with the sugar they took and we'll see that he doesn't get any more until the middle of June'.

Nakamoto said imperiously, 'Okay! You do that'. He strode out of the office still angry.

From the doorway he shot back at me over his shoulder, 'And don't forget'.

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We white men had lots of sugar for a while - for as long as it lasted. We had cookies, pies, puddings, cake. Some of the men used three spoons of sugar in their coffee. The doughnuts were rolled in sugar. We feasted.

The Japanese fared much simpler and better. They kept inside the ration limits. There was no straight sugar on their tables. Their coffee went on with the sugar already in it., mixed in the pot, so much and no more. Sometimes they drank green tea unsweetened.

NO MORE DESSERTS

Then the famine came. The sugar was almost gone in the white men's cookhouse, and I was resolute. So was the storeman. It was not the middle of June yet. The result was a short almost sugarless season until the new ration was due, a season when the sugar bowls went off the table immediately after breakfast if they appeared at all, and did not reappear until the following breakfast. Luckily we managed to get a little honey and corn syrup. There were no desserts.

I said nothing. I trusted Jimmie Tojo to keep the Japanese adequately informed of our troubles. I know, though, that the Japanese cookhouse served pie every day at noon and cake for supper.

Then the Japanese threw a party. Mysteriously, there seemed to be no connection with a celebration and our temporary sugar shortage, but the reason given was simple and plausible one that now when we were all settled in the new camp, a get acquainted party was in order. True all of us who had been with the camp from the beginning were not there. Also, a few of the white men did not attend. The cook was one of them. Invitations were not given out, but the understanding was that if we wanted to get acquainted and meet everyone in our outfit on the basis of an equality that was unmindful of political and color variations, we were all equally welcome.

IT WAS IN the evening, around the long tables in the Japanese dining room. Everyone was wearing his good clothes, because this was supposed to be a very special occasion. There were fresh spring wild-flowers on the tables in empty gallon cans. There were speeches and there was laughter. Every person in the room had to

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rise when his turn came and make a short speech - to tell who he was, and what and where he came from. If he could not do that he was allowed to sing a song.

They found me a seat beside Suyekichi Nakamoto. When the cook offered me cigarettes, I accepted them graciously.

SUGOR PLEECE!

I saw that besides the flowers there was also food on the tables - cheese sandwiches, beef sandwiches, jam sandwiches, cakes cookies. Large platters heaped with rich chocolate cakes and soft, vanilla icing stood at our elbows, pots of coffee, unsweetened, and bowls of sugar. The Japanese boys must have gone without their usual sugar a week to afford such a spread. It was a banquet. We ate nippy cheese-on-brown-bread sandwiches, tarts benevolent jam sandwiches, gooey, indigestible gobs of rich chocolate cake and icing. We talked and laughed.

Suyekichi Nakamoto poured me a large cup of coffee.

'Sugar'? He offered me the bowl with an air of infinite solicitude.

The Japanese are a polite people.

I am one of those individuals who seldom use sugar in coffee but I felt this occasion, wherein some special significance attached itself to the rite of passing a white man the sugar. After all, they were Japanese, but they had made their sugar ration last, while we had not. And no special concessions had been given.

So when Nakamoto passed me the sugar, I knew what to do. I said, enthusiastically, 'Yes, thank you!' "

On June 3rd, Charles Ainsell, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources wrote to N.A. Robertson, the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, about the strike at the Thunder River Camp on May 25th. The men had been in touch with the Spanish Consul in Vancouver, and so Camsell thought External Affairs should know about the circumstances. This letter from Camsell must have been passed on to one of the Secretaries in the Department, because on June 5th, a memo from SMS was written titled: **"COMPULSORY EMPLOYMENT OF JAPANESE IN CANADA."**

We are concerned for two reasons:

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1. We have told the Japanese Government that Japanese are not compulsorily employed. I may add that apparently the Japanese Government and the American Government have agreed to treat interned civilians in the same fashion as prisoners of war, provided that neither side employ compulsory labour. I am not certain at the moment whether Canadian-Japanese understanding carries a like condition.

2. The effect on British internees in Japan, if Japan believes that we compulsorily employ Japanese. There have been strong rumors that, in fact, some of our internees are compelled to work, but there has been no confirmation.

Technically speaking, neither Labour nor Mines and Resources compulsorily employ Japanese. However Labour refuses to feed Japanese in their villages if they will not accept employment elsewhere; further Labour will remove the Japanese from the villages and put them someplace where there is no food unless they work, for example, in the lumber woods. At the moment 90 Japanese nationals in the Thunder River camp under Mines and Resources are on strike, ostensibly for better food. They have been put on a two meal a day ration. Mr. Wardle tells me this is Labour policy for strikes.

I asked Mr. Wardle to be careful that no Government official told the Protecting Power about this two meal a day ration.

At our intra-departmental meeting last week, it was decided that it was alright not to feed the Japanese if they refused to work. We had the villages in mind at that time. The situation is a little different in the labour camps.

Special Section thinks this ice is rather thin, but proposes no policy at present, except to write to both Labour and Mines and Resources and keep a careful watch on events.

I attach the report on the Thunder River strike, from the Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources." (7)

"The N.C." June 12th,

"Japanese Road Camp Workers Settle Dispute

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Vancouver. - Japanese road camp workers who went on strike at the Thunder River camp in the Jasper area have returned to work, B.C. Security Commission officials told the Province.

In Ottawa, mines and resources officials under which department the camps are run, declared that the 100 men in the camp had staged a 'sit-down strike' in protest over meatless Tuesday and other food restrictions. The men also requested, said the officials, for more rice which is not available because of restricted supply.

'Similar strikes have occurred on several occasions in road camps but are usually of short duration because the pay of the men is stopped and their board charges continued during the demonstration', stated the official."

There were certainly some ardent Japanese Nationalists in the camps as can be appreciated by this letter which was condemned by the Censor. T.N. at the Lempriere Camp wrote to Y.T. in Kelowna on the 20th of July. The Censor's excerpt follows: *"I will give you some good news. The Japanese army are now in such a position, that they can land in Vancouver within 24 hours. That is clearly understandable. The longer the war lasts, the stronger Japan will be. Japan is launching two rubber (Author's note: the Censors must have misinterpreted a Japanese word) ships a month. It is very pleasant to hear that food is more than sufficient. Here in this camp every day we pay 75¢ for food that costs 50¢. There is no medical care for us when we need it. The treatment is very cruel, but I think they will have an awakening in a year or so. The news they publish here is only lies. There are no lies in the land of our Emperor, an empire of God and Buddha. Even an old man like myself considers the policy of this country on a level with the mind of a Japanese child". (18)*

Another condemned letter was written by Y.Y. at the Thunder River Camp on the 22nd to M.T. at Internment Camp 101. The Censor's excerpt follows: *"Some time ago we asked the Spanish Consul at Vancouver to come here and settle the question of food. The problem was solved temporarily but it comes to the forefront anew. Now in this camp in Thunder River, we cannot get any food though the other two camps are getting plenty. We have no eggs,*

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no meat, and no potatoes. The only thing we have for breakfast is dumplings while the other camps have rice every day. Since we were short of food, we had to borrow some from the others. Under such circumstances quite a number of people have left here for other work. We are afraid that there will be no food at all left for us to eat. Perhaps later on conditions may improve, but now the only thing to do is inform the Spanish Consul.

(B)Referring to war conditions, many ships (Censor's remark: Allied ships) are being sunk every month. Anyway the situation is very interesting. Keep your eyes on the daily papers. I predict the war will end in a year or two. Japan will make the countries free nations each independent of the other, then we shall enjoy our Eastern Co-prosperity Sphere". (18)

"The N.C." July 31st,

"Camp Workers Slated for Northern Logging Jobs.

Prince George, B.C. - Even while Hon.Humphrey Mitchell, minister of labor, told the Senate finance committee last week that all Japanese transferred from the defence areas of British Columbia will be engaged in productive employment this summer, Security Commission machinery were in motion to employ some 350 Japanese road camp workers in the B.C. northern interior logging camps.

The men now on road building projects in the Blue River district will be made available for work in mills and logging camps in the Prince George-McBride region. The Japanese many of whom are experienced mill and logging workers will receive the same pay as white labor. It is indicated that those of the 350 Japanese not placed in the logging industry will be sent to prairie farms for the harvest.

The movement to employ Japanese was started last winter, states the Daily Province. Operators forwarded to a central control office the number of men they could employ and negotiations were entered with the R.C.M.P., the B.C.Security Commission, Army authorities and Ottawa.

The move met with considerable opposition from several quarters, the danger from closeness of several of these camps to the vitally

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important northern transcontinental railway being stressed. The fact that Japanese camps on the Hope-Princeton Highway were equally adjacent to the Canadian Pacific Railway was taken into consideration".

"The N.C." August 7th,

"Interview Camp Men For Logging

Vancouver. - Representatives from logging camps in British Columbia north country are now interviewing former Japanese loggers located in road camps between Jasper and Blue River with a view of hiring them, G.C.Collins of the B.C. Security Commission stated to the Vancouver Province.

'Following a meeting of logging operators in Prince George last week, arrangements were made to hire whatever Japanese were needed with the stipulation that representatives of the logging firms tour the camps and personally select the men they wished to hire.

Once the men have been chosen, an individual permit must be granted by the Security Commission before any Japanese can leave the camp. No applications have yet been received by us,' said Mr. Collins.

'The logging representatives, looking for 350 Japanese loggers, will tour the camps only as far as Blue River, for the time being, stated Mr. Collins.

Officials of the Selective Service are assisting in loggers quest for Japanese labor."

"The N.C." August 21st,

"Thunder River Highway

Thunder River, B.C. - At the present time there are 79 Japanese in this camp. Road construction is difficult in this area, but with continued good weather, the work has progressed steadily. We are now working at a site three miles east of the camp.

The Shinwakai, the camp organization, held a meeting on July 25 at which a new executive was elected ... (see page 12 for names)

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Eisuke Goto, our former chairman, had worked in that capacity for a long period of time and he had resigned his position with the view to leaving for the prairie provinces soon."

In the November 6th issue of "The N.C." K.W. commented on the Government's use of the National Selective Service Act to force the movement of Nisei and Naturalized Canadians east of the Rockies, in the column "*Mountain Hermitage*."

This Curious Paradox.

The curious weakness of their citizenship status continues to be demonstrated to Canadian-born and naturalized Japanese by the current developments, bringing certain groups of us within the compass of National Selective Service CIVILIAN Regulations. In the peaceful days when our chief concern was the battle for the democratic franchise - or an altercation with Alderman Wilson - we used to expand on that weakness.

The fact of the matter was that Japanese nationals found themselves to be in a safer and securer position in B.C. than those of us either natural-born or naturalized as citizens. Chiefly this rose from the existence of the 'most favoured nation' clause in treaties between Canada and Japan, and through the presence of Japanese consuls and ministers, whose duty it was partly to look after their resident nationals.

This combination of diplomatic agreement and personal interest thus extended a protective shelter over the majority of first generation alien immigrants. But that protection could not legally be extended to Japanese Canadian citizens. Because of their legal status they could not seek the protection of a foreign power, its representatives or its international treaties.

Indeed the citizen group was the most exposed of all to prejudice and discriminatory regulations. And since most attacks and restrictions were laid down on the basis of race, and race alone, rather than citizenship, the citizens suffered from all the handicaps imposed upon Japanese aliens.

PROTECTIVE POWER

Curiously enough this situation, far from reversing itself, has been carried over in time of war. True a half-hearted attempt was made

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early in the war - in January, 1942 - to establish the protective and privileged quality of our citizenship. But as it actually worked out, the exposed portion of the citizen group has become even more exposed, while the protection extended to nationals has been proven to be very real and concrete.

This has been possible through the recognition and intervention of the 'protective power', the Spanish government and the International Red Cross. While groups of nationals anywhere in the country are given every means of access to these authorities, the citizen group is not supposed to make any appeal for assistance to them against any act of their own government.

In the current development of Selective Service regulations, international codes respecting the treatment of civilians and service prisoners-of-war (which in the Japanese language comprise a fair size volume) may set the nationals apart as a separate group. But these codes cannot make provision for citizens of an enemy origin, who may be subjected to duties and responsibilities as citizens, even though discriminatory restrictions are imposed upon them because of their racial origin.

DEMAND FOR FREEDOM

It might be forecast that the extension of Selective Service Civilian Regulations to the citizens of the Interior Towns will call forth a more insistent demand for greater freedom and improved conditions by the families of the men affected.

Such a demand will be very soundly based. For certainly it cannot be argued that applying the regulations to the towns is merely treating Japanese-born Canadian citizens like anyone else. No one can argue that as long as there exist such invidious distinctions against Japanese Canadians as the curtailment of liberty of travel, or the right to make a home at will, the bans on the use and possession of radios and cameras, the prohibition of hunting, fishing or trapping, the withholding of workmen's compensation benefits, the necessity of special permits for the lease or purchase of agricultural land, the denial of a fair ration of liquor, or the undemocratic exclusion from the right to vote."

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1944 - - - the beginning of year 3 of exile came, but the stories from the correspondents in the road camps along the Y-BR Highway disappeared from the pages of "The N.C."

However, work problems never disappeared for the Road Camp Supervisors. The Censor intercepted and condemned a letter written in Japanese on January 15th, to T. Umezuki the Japanese editor of "The N.C." The Censor's Comments and excerpt follows:

"Comment

Political

Writer expresses dissatisfaction with his
treatment when ill and having eye-trouble
_____ at Lempriere. _____

Letter from friend to friend.

'Lately my affair has entered the serious stage. Today I have written in detail to Mr. Kobbe, the Spanish Consul, enclosing the certificate from the optometrist. Our livelihood has been guaranteed by the statement in the issue of the New Canadian for June 1942, also in the statement dated June 19th sent by Mr. D.W. Simmons to Mr. T.H. Mitchell when the latter was living in Red Pass, also by the statement by Mr. Mead of the Security Commission addressed to the then foreman, Mr. Abe. All these guaranteed our living. It was agreed that our food expenses would never be deducted from our cheque in time of illness or accident. The above agreement has been entirely ignored in my case at this camp when laid up on the advice of Dr. Shimotakahara. I am now experiencing the results of this. Last year when we had a wave of influenza here several men followed the advice published in the Daily Province of remaining in bed for several days. In their cases too, food allowances were deducted. I don't know why it should be so but at the Hospital at Blue River food expenses are not deducted. Several men who have come back from the hospital say there is no fire kept up at night and the bed sheets were not changed in two weeks. The food was the same day after day with no variety at all. There was no doctor there, only the former time-keeper at Lempriere was there as orderly. If the above treatment is kept up in the future there is nothing for us Japanese workmen, if we happen to have weak bodies, to look forward to but

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to die. Formerly at Lempriere there was a sort of Commissary but now it is no more than a Dead Sea Apple (?) Mr. Tateishi, when he had an accident and was in hospital for nearly six months, I myself and a dozen others asked for spending money. How could men, working for 170 hours (per month - translator) at 25¢ per hour, lay up money for small expenses. Anyone should understand that. We are not at all guilty of causing this war yet we have to live this miserable life; although we receive such inhuman treatment we can say nothing about it. What does "parole" mean? When a promise like this is made before God it certainly should not be treated like a scrap of paper. The crude foreman here threatened me in the name of the Selective Service. This is a fact. Perhaps it is because the Japanese who have been here have been too gentle and disliked making trouble. This has helped to make this foreman what he is. Since he threatened me I must say he has improved in his treatment. 'Ask and it shall be given to you' is a truth from the Bible. The idea of leadership starts here. Everyone likes to exercise every ounce of authority he may possess. This is a law of nature. I intend to keep up my battle for my rights until they are granted.

In this winter season, troubled with rheumatism and poor sight, I am trying to walk in the right way. I am trying to take care of myself so as not to become any worse. I am not able to do any heavy work. I reported this to the Consul. Please see what I have written over leaf. Where would I get any sum of money of my own after nearly six months in hospital like Mr. Tateishi? After the war we will still need the same things we need now. I have written in detail the cost of my glasses. I have written all this to the Consul. They say to bring my doctor's certificate for my glasses but the doctor is an army doctor.'

Note account of expenses in connection with glasses on back of P.5 written in English.

Enclosure - copy of note from eye specialist."

The complaints in this letter were eventually conveyed to Walker, the Supervising Engineer at Banff, for investigation and a report. He replied to Chief Engineer, Mills in Ottawa, on March 18th, with the following comments:

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" Item 1. The cost of meals has never been deducted from Japanese pay while Japanese were actually ill or incapacitated.

Item 2. No night fireman has ever been required for the small Blue River hospital. (See Mr. Brereton's report re this.)

Item 3. Bed linen in the hospital is changed at least once a week, and is always changed with a change of patients.

Item 4. The cook in the hospital in Blue River is the best Japanese Cook anywhere on our entire Japanese projects, and the food served is, to my own personal knowledge, placed on the table in more appetizing form than in any other camp, or in fact than any restaurant in which I have eaten for a considerable length of time. The food supplied the Japanese at the hospital is exactly the same as is supplied to the white staff, and we have had no objections from the white staff.

Item 5. It is noted that T.'s letter is dated January 15th, 1944, and in such letter he refers to there being no commissary at Lempriere. Lempriere camp was closed down entirely as and from November last. In connection with the lack of commissary at this or any other camp, please note Mr. Brereton's remarks thereto. ...

... re examination of this man ... the said doctor told T. that he was quite fit to go to work and in fact the doctor wrote Mr. Brereton to that effect. ... " (31)

Walker also quoted from the letter received from Brereton at Blue River "Without being flippant, these Japanese are the most extraordinary people to handle that one can possibly imagine. The foremen have a delicate job on their hands and only for the fact they are men of good balance, they would have been in Essondale (Author's note: a mental institution near Vancouver) long ago.

The personnel might fairly be divided as follows:-

Able bodied workers -	40%
" " loafers -	20%
Camp followers -	25%
Mentally deficient -	15%

We had no strikes or disputes recently, but that does not mean I have not had to give a lot of my time towards them. It might

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interest you to know that they disbanded their camp committee last Xmas and this T. affair is the only complaint lodged against the management for several months. They quarrel amongst themselves frequently and on several occasions I have had to assist in adjusting things for them". (31)

On the 25th of May 1944, A.H.Brown, who was responsible for the Japanese Division in the Department of Labour, wrote a memo to MacNamara about the difficulty of recruiting men for lumbering employment in B.C., railway work, or gold mines. His memo read in part: "... To date, both Selective Service and Collins have advised against the use of compulsory direction under Selective Service Regulations in relation to the Japanese for the purposes of transfer outside B.C.

Why not put it directly up to the Regional Selective Service office to recruit Japanese for this railway work". (Author's note: To my knowledge, there were no serious outbreaks of forest fires or railway rolling stock accidents as a consequence of hiring Japanese labour to do these jobs. However, according to Kinzie Tanaka, there was a rail accident in April, 1942 just north of Lempriere and his immediate concern was that the Japanese in the camps would be blamed. As he recalled it, there were truck motors from Ford Motor and ammunition in the three box cars which derailed and rolled down the embankment of the river. However, no blame was ever attributed to the Japanese. It was the height of irony that the railroads who were so concerned about sabotage against the rail lines were now knocking on the door to hire the "potential saboteurs" when labour shortages to service the rolling stock and the tracks began to hurt them.) (29)

The pressing need for men to work on railroad gangs was illustrated a few days later on May 29th, when MacNamara wrote to Wardle: "*Canadian National Railway needs two gangs of 50 men each for track maintenance in the summer and snow and rock slide clearance in the winter near Blue River-Yellowhead camps. If permission to recruit can be obtained, is the Department prepared to release men who may be recruited"*? (29)

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In response to a letter from Charles H. Grant, a lawyer in Edmonton, Wardle wrote a personal letter on July 5th, bringing him up to date on how much work had been done on the Y-BR Highway. *"This road is now passable for trucks from Jasper down to Blackspur, a distance of 104 miles, and from Blue River northerly to Pyramid, a distance of about 20 miles. Between Blackspur and Pyramid, a distance of about 14 miles, 9 miles of pioneer road is finished but not connected up, and there is 5 miles still to do. On this section the clearing of the right of way is about completed. Several bridges have been built.*

This work is going very slowly because there are now on it only about 85 Japanese all told, and some of these are not physically fit for road work." His letter went on to illustrate just how the total labour on this project had declined since the summer of 1942. On June 20th, 1942, there were 1,270 men on the project. By Oct. 31st, when all the married men had been removed from the camps, there were only 294 men in the camps. At the end of 1943, there were only 104 men left in the camps, and by May 1st, this had dropped to 93 men. His letter went on: *"I would say that in view of the limited number of Japanese and their physical condition (many of them are quite old men) a fair showing is being made, but it is not very noticeable when regarded in the light of the whole project". (29)*

By the middle of 1944, with few men working on the highway, and rumours that the highway would soon be finished, Green, the M.P. for Sicstoke, began to lobby for a road to Myrtle Lake which was near Blue River. When notified of this proposal, Walker's response was: *"There will be no highway completed through this district by the end of the present month, nor possibly for several years to come, although we do hope that by the end of September we will have been able to open up a pioneer or tote road between Black's Spur and Blue River. ... Summing up the final situation as I understand it, there is now only a stretch of some 800 feet south from Black's Spur over which wheeled traffic cannot travel in dry weather".* He added, *"An immense amount of work still remains to be done before any claim can be made that we have a road suitable for public traffic as between Blue River and Albreda".* He

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ended his letter with *"My personal opinion is that our department would be very ill advised to take on any additional project which would necessitate the abandonment of the present project, thus leaving it in only a half finished condition. Our Department would, I believe, be open to most severe public criticism if any such action were decided upon"*.

Wardle replied to Green in early November, quoting MacNamara, *"It is our unanimous opinion that Japanese should not be made available for work on a road to Myrtle Lake, so long as the Blue River-Yellowhead Highway is not completed, and so long as essential industries in British Columbia and elsewhere lack manpower"*. This last letter pretty well put a stop to the politicians trying to influence the work on the highway projects which used Japanese labour. From the beginning of the planning of the projects, they had been a thorn in the side of the men who were trying to do their best, under difficult circumstances, to complete the projects. (29)

1945 - - - the beginning of another year, year 4 of Exile. This year was to be a watershed year for many Japanese who had chosen to remain in the Settlements or in the Road Camps. In August of 1944, Mackenzie King had made a major policy statement on the fate of the Japanese in Canada. There would be a permanent dispersal of the Japanese in Canada, and in addition, there would be a commission set up to judge the *"loyalty"* or *"disloyalty"* of all Japanese in Canada. The *"disloyal"* ones would be deported to Japan without regard to citizenship (included in this deportation would be their young Canadian-born children who would be strangers in an alien, war-torn country).

In preparation for the determination of *"disloyalty"*, Robertson, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, wrote to the Acting Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources, in February, encouraging him to send lists of troublemakers together with comments, to Brown, of the Department of Labour. One of the lists prepared, had a total of 141 so-called troublemakers from the four highway projects in BC and Ont. The comments on the men,

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as troublemakers, was blanked out under the Access to Information Act. There is no easy way to determine how this information acted against the men's interests or whether they resisted attempts to be deported. It is interesting that one of the men on the list from Lempriere Camp was the Reverend Takefumi (Frederick) Tatsu, a pre-war missionary minister from Japan to the Japanese community in Vancouver and Steveston, whose sole indiscretion, as far as the records show, was his refusal to shovel snow from around a culvert. He finished his ministry in service to the Black Community in Chatham. (27)

There was a list of 95 men of 113 who were still in the camps along the Y-BR project in March of 1946, who had initially chosen to be repatriated to Japan in 1945, but of the 95, 19 had revoked their choice by the end of 1945, and the five others had revoked by January or February of 1946. These were all men who were Japanese Nationals, single or married men whose families were in Japan. (40)

The thinking of some of the Cabinet Ministers with respect to the King policy statement can be clearly seen by the closing paragraph of a letter written on December 18th by Mitchell to E.D. Fulton, MP, Vancouver. *"You are aware, of course, of the policy which we will be following in regard to persons of the Japanese race and you will, I am sure, understand that the main objective of the Department of Labour will be to repatriate to Japan as many as possible and then disperse the remainder."* (29) (Author's note: emphasis mine!)

1946 - - - the beginning of year 5 of exile, the last year for the Y-BR project. On January 17th, Walker received information from T.B.Pickersgill, Commissioner of Japanese Placement, (Pickersgill had been appointed to that position a year earlier) that there was a possibility that some of the men in the camps could be repatriated in February. Walker's reaction was that the camps should be closed down as soon as the men were removed from them, or that white labour should be used to complete the sections which remained to be done to get the road to a respectable condition. (29)

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

By the 11th of May 1946, Wardle wrote a memo to Mills

"Re: Disposal of Japanese, Yellowhead-Blue River Project.

Mr. H.T.Pammatt of the Labour Department telephoned me this morning that the B.C. Security Commissioner could arrange to place at other points the Japanese from the above project at any time after May 31st.

Mr. Pammatt stated that while certain Japanese on the above project would be subject for deportation before the end of May, Mr. Walker could retain any of the other men that he needed for closing down operations. He also could make direct arrangements with the Security Commissioner for the transfer of the physically-unfit Japanese and unemployables to Tashme. ...

In view of the above information Mr. Walker and Mr. Gurney should plan on having all Japanese sent out on May 31st or June 3rd.

On the 13th, Pammatt sent a letter to Wardle advising that Pickersgill had suggested that camp operations be continued to the end of May. In addition,he wrote " The Japanese wishing to go voluntarily to Japan are being sent from Vancouver on two ships leaving May 28 and a few days thereafter. The men from Blue River Camps who are repatriating will be leaving for Vancouver about May 23, and it will be possible within a week thereafter to accommodate at Tashme any other men who are not employable". By May 31st, the camp had a total of 35 Japanese men, and with their removal on that date, the project was closed down. (29)

On Jan. 10th 1947, Gurney, the Assistant Engineer, wrote a very comprehensive 7 page report in which he detailed what had been accomplished on the "YELLOWHEAD- BLUE RIVER JAPANESE PROJECT".

During the operation of this project 290,238 man-days of work was provided for Japanese persons.

The following work had been accomplished:

18.5 Miles of abandoned railway grade was cleaned up and made suitable for truck travel.

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35 Miles of pioneer road constructed.

1 1/2 Miles of standard highway grade constructed.

1 3-span King Truss bridge

2 Single span King Truss bridge

4 Permanent stringer bridges

12 Temporary stringer bridges". (29)

APPENDIX CHAPTER 3

1. (Following is a copy of a "SECRET" letter of the RCMP.)

Original sent to Mr. MacNamara,

2 copies sent Mr. Mills,
1 copy sent Dep. Minister.
Mar.9/42. AIRMAIL

Province

Date

B.C.

March 3rd 1942.

File References

Re:

SECRET ALIEN ENEMIES IN PROTECTED AREAS, B. C.

1. At 7.15 p.m. on the 24th February, the writer proceeded to Geikie, Alberta, by C.N.R. train in charge of a party of one hundred Japanese nationals who had volunteered for work in the interior. The following morning he was informed that the camp at Geikie was not ready and that the party therefore would be taken to Jasper.

2. The train arrived at Jasper at 2 p.m. on the 28th instant and about 4 o'clock were transferred to bunkcars at a nearby siding. Each of the bunkcars contained ten beds and each car was heated by an iron stove.

3. The writer interviewed Mr. Mitchell who was the engineer in charge of the projected work for the Japanese, also officials of the C.N.R. and made arrangements for food, oil for lighting, water and such other essential matters and everybody was comfortably settled down by about 7 p.m.

4. The original idea was that the train would draw out for Geikie about nine the following morning, but in the interim it was found that Geikie could only accommodate fifty men at the moment, and the balance accommodated at Red Pass Junction. This information was passed on by telegram to the Officer Commanding "E" Division at Vancouver with a request that two guards be sent up to Red Pass as soon as possible.

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5. Subsequently it was found possible to move the train about 9 p.m. the same evening and the whole contingent arrived at Geikie at 10.30 p.m.

6. The following morning the writer saw Mr. J. Baker, the foreman in charge of the camp at Geikie and a certain number of men were put to work immediately on camp construction.

7. The camp at Geikie is situated about half a mile east from the railroad station and about fifty yards off the main line. It is on the banks of the Miette River and is in a pleasant locality. At that time there was already erected a cook house with a dining room adjoining capable of accommodating one hundred men. A large marquee tent had also been erected capable of accommodating about ten men. These tents were well heated and there was a plentiful supply of food and Mr. Baker, the foreman, gave the impression of being a very capable and reasonable person.

8. A certain number of the Japanese were accommodated at the camp that evening and the balance went back to their bunkcars where they were to be kept until such time as the camp was ready for the whole party.

9. It was not until 9 a.m. on the 27th that the balance of the party left for Red Pass Junction arriving there about 12.00 a.m. when the cars which they occupied were moved to a siding about three quarters of a mile from Red Pass Junction on the main line to Prince Rupert.

10. Proceeding to the station for the purpose of meeting the guards for the Red Pass contingent, the writer heard that Messrs. Sasaki and Tsuyuki were on the train having come from Vancouver for the purpose of investigating whether there was any foundation in rumours which were current in Vancouver to the effect that the men were being badly treated and were without food etc. Subsequent to visiting the camp at Rainbow that afternoon, I wired the Officer Commanding "E" Division, Vancouver, to the effect that in my opinion these rumours were absolutely groundless.

11. The camp at Rainbow consisting of bunkcars is on a siding a short distance from the railway station and on the banks of a lake. The writer investigated conditions there thoroughly and found Mr.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Burr, the foreman in charge, to be a very capable individual, and the head Japanese upon being questioned expressed great satisfaction at the way they were being treated and stated that there were no complaints from the others.

12.Lucerne. The conditions here were practically a replica in so far as housing, etc., is concerned. The trucks in which the men are housed are in a siding along the main line about one and a half mile from the station. The foreman Mr. McPherson, expressed his satisfaction at the way in which the Japanese were working and there were no complaints of any kind whatsoever. The Japanese are occupied in fixing up the old Canadian National Hotel into a barracks for the working parties.

13.The writer had the opportunity of going into various matters pertaining to the Japanese there and saw amongst others Mr. W.J. Wishart who has been given the contract for supplying the camp with foodstuffs and stores. The suggestion was made that a proportion of the food supplied should take the form of rice, soy etc., and the same was given effect to and on the day that the writer concluded his business, namely the 28th of February, the first supply of rice was received for the Japanese contingent at Red Pass.

14.A number of regulations are being drawn up for the conduct of the Japanese at the various camps and same will be posted in each bunkcar in English and in Japanese. These regulations will embody a curfew after sunset until sunrise, lights out at 10 p.m. Restrictions are placed on the Japanese wandering on the railway property and the station although they will be afforded opportunities of making purchases at such stores as may be located close to the camp, but they must always be accompanied by one of the white guards. A copy of these regulations will be forwarded here and passed to you in due course.

15.The C.N.R. made one regulation which appeared to the writer to be a little drastic. This regulation notified section men in charge of out of the way stations such as Geikie, Lucerne and Rainbow not to accept parcels or letters from the Japanese. This was doubtless formulated with the idea of stopping Japanese from wandering about the station. As it is essential that these men be

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allowed to communicate with their friends or families, the writer instructed the guards at the camps to collect Japanese mail at stated intervals during the day and take them to the station so that they might be posted.

16. In conclusion it may be stated that the men are comfortably housed, food is plentiful and the writer took the opportunity of pointing out to the foreman in charge at the various camps that the best results would be obtained by dealing not with individuals but with the head man in charge at the Japanese camp at the particular locality. Some of these head men have an imperfect knowledge of English but there is in each camp a Japanese interpreter who should be capable of dealing with the situation.

17. The writer in his telegram to the Officer Commanding "E" Division, Vancouver, stated that there were a few minor details which could be developed on his return to Vancouver, but one of these was a request that each camp be allowed a radio receiving set without the shortwave band and the regulations which have been formulated since would deny the Japanese this privilege.

18. Another matter was a little dissatisfaction by the camp cooks who have to work approximately twelve hours a day and are entitled to only eight hours pay, the same as workers on the road. There appears to be a little justification for this complaint and if a little extra recompense is possible, it would meet the situation.

19. The writer left Red Pass upon conclusion of his patrol at 2.20 p.m. on Saturday the 28th February returning to Vancouver at 8.30 a.m. on the 1st instant.

(Sgd)

(G.Upton)

S/Constable. (10)

GU/JW

* * * *

Commissioner,
R.C.M.P., Ottawa.

Sir:

FORWARDED for your information: You will note that conditions in the Camps up till the time S/Cst. Upton left were

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

very satisfactory. The arrangements made appear to be working out well and the men are well housed and fed.

2. Attention is drawn to Paragraph 10. Due to rumours which were received by the Japanese community here, to the effect that the men were not treated well and there was a shortage of food, the Japanese sent a committee of two to see for themselves whether or not the rumours were founded on fact. It may be stated here that on the return to Vancouver of this delegation they caused notices to be put up in the various Japanese places where these people congregate, stating that the rumours were entirely unfounded.

3. Several minor difficulties, you will note, were straightened out by S/Cst. Upton.

Vancouver.
4-3-42.
JKB/M.

(SGD)
(C.H.Hill)
Asst. Commissioner,
Commanding "E" Division.
(10)

2. *(Following is a copy of a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources; Lands, Parks and Forests Branch.)*

COPY

Copy sent Mr. MacNamara,
Commissioner Wood,
Mr. Mills,
Mar. 17, 1942.

CONFIDENTIAL

Jasper, Alta.
March 12th, 1942.

Dear Sir:

With the report of ill-treatment of British prisoners of War by the Japs, feeling is running very high in Jasper over the conditions under which the Japs are being taken care of in the camps established West of Jasper.

It appears that these men are permitted to visit Jasper, providing they have permission from the police. I have seen a number of

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them around town myself, and I have been asked by individuals, what steps are being taken to keep these men in bounds.

Today a delegation from the Canadian Legion headed by Mr. Dixon discussed the matter with me, and I informed them that I would submit the questions to you for your consideration.

Their complaints are as follows:-

- 1.They state that they do not feel that their families are safe with Japs roaming the streets of Jasper at will.
- 2.They contend that these Japs will make opportunity for sabotage. They mention specifically the Jasper Water supply which could easily be disrupted or poisoned.
- 3.There are sufficient Japs in the camp at Geikie to take over the town of Jasper entirely, if they wish to do so, as there are only two guards for a Camp of 100.
- 4.They pointed out that men working in our Maintenance Camps are required to pay 30¢ a meal, whereas the Japs are required to pay only 25¢ a meal.
- 5.Although a Veterans Volunteer Reserve Company has been established in Jasper, they have not been provided with rifles or ammunition, and therefore, would be of little use as a protective agency.

The following recommendations were made:

- 1.That out-of-bounds areas for all inmates of these Camps be established.
- 2.That immediate steps be taken to arm the Veterans Volunteer Reserve Company with rifles and ammunition. The number of rifles required would be - 24.
- 3.That an adequate number of guards be provided for each Camp established.

Of these recommendations I think that consideration should be given to the providing of 24 rifles and a supply of ammunition to the Veterans Volunteer Reserve Company, which would provide some degree of protection to the residents of Jasper, if trouble should occur, and secondly, consideration should be given to the

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

establishing of out-of-bounds areas for the inmates of the established Camps.

The Contoller,
National Parks Bureau
Ottawa, Ont.

Yours faithfully,
"J.A. WOOD"
Superintendent. (10)

3. ORDERS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF WORKERS IN HIGHWAY CAMPS

ORDER NO. 10.

WHEREAS persons of the Japanese race are employed in Highway Camps established under Order-in-Council P.C. 1348 and have been allocated to various Highway Camps in Canada;

AND WHEREAS it is deemed expedient for the British Columbia Security Commission to pass camp regulations governing the conduct of persons of the Japanese race (hereinafter referred to in this Order as "workers") for the well being and protection of such workers;

NOW THEREFORE, under and by virtue of the powers conferred upon the British Columbia Security Commission by Order-in-Council P.C. 1665 the following regulations are hereby ordered to apply to all workers in Highway Camps in Canada:--

(1) No worker shall proceed beyond the boundaries of any Highway Camp, as defined by the Engineer-in-Charge, except under permit from the British Columbia Security Commission, or from a person duly authorized by the Commission to issue such permits.

(2) All railway right-of-way and private property is out of bounds at all times to any worker except when such worker, accompanied by a Key Man from the Camp, is required to enter on such right-of-way or private property in connection with his designated work.

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(3) No worker shall enter or remain in the vicinity of any watersheds, reservoirs, dams, dykes, aeroplane factories, munition factories or military camps.

(4) All workers shall conduct themselves in Camp in accordance with the Camp Regulations issued by the Engineer-in-Charge. All workers shall exercise due regard to the proper care of Government buildings, property and equipment.

(5) All lights shall be out at 10 p.m.

(6) All workers shall comply with directions issued to them in the performance of their designated work.

(7) All workers shall be held responsible for the proper care of any tools issued to them.

Any breach of the above regulations shall subject the offender as provided in Order-in-Council P.C. 1665.

DATED at Vancouver, B.C., this 18th day of April, 1942.

AUSTIN C. TAYLOR,
Chairman,
BRITISH COLUMBIA
SECURITY COMMISSION.

NOTICE

(1) It was ordered by previous orders of the British Columbia Security Commission that no person of the Japanese race shall:

- (a) Use, consume or have in his possession, any liquor;
- (b) Fish in any way whatsoever in any inland or coastal waters in Canada;
- (c) Hunt or trap any game whatsoever in Canada.

(2) Any worker feeling aggrieved or injured by any condition existing in the Camp should immediately bring the facts and circumstances of his grievances to the attention of the Engineer-in-Charge, in writing, for consideration and submission to the duly authorized agent of the British Columbia Security Commission.

(3) Any worker who wishes to transfer to some other locality or point outside the jurisdiction of the Camp, must apply in writing to

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

the British Columbia Security Commission through the Engineer-in-Charge, setting forth in detail the reason for his application.

(4) Workers are allowed to have long-wave radio sets in the Camp. No short-wave radios of any kind will be allowed.

4. *(Following is a letter of the BCSC.)*

AIR MAIL

May 30, 1942.

Mr. A. MacNamara,
Associate Deputy Minister of Labor,
OTTAWA, CANADA

Dear Mr. MacNamara:

I wish you would read the enclosed copy of letter from Kinzie Tanaka and copy of co-commissioner F.J.Mead's memorandum to me carefully. There is a lot of food for thought in this letter and memorandum, whether we like it or not.

In my opinion, if trouble does not occur in these camps before winter it certainly will when the cold weather sets in and the only solution to this unfortunate situation is the promise of reuniting married men with their families in the winter time and then send them to the road camps in the summer time. This may not be entirely practical, nevertheless it is possible.

We would have to reduce to some extent the present congestion in our interior towns. This, however, might be obviated by redistribution in the event of your securing sufficient Indian schools so that the married people could be reunited. Also, it could be remedied by the plan we submitted May 13th of individual houses on small acreages. To do this, of course, would require more houses than we suggested. Nevertheless the problem is of major importance and must by necessity receive the Government's serious consideration, more especially in view of the delegation that is to review our enemy alien situation headed by the Spanish Consul, the Red Cross, etc., which may have a very

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far reaching effect on the 115,000 or more prisoners of war we have in the hands of the Japanese. This Commission is to meet the Spanish Consul and the group accompanying him early in June and it will undoubtedly be very beneficial to our representative who will accompany this group on a tour of inspection if we are able to advise them that we have a definite plan which will be effected in the next few weeks rather than allow things to be judged as they exist today.

The Government's immediate opinion on the above will be greatly appreciated.

ACT/JM
ENC. (9)

Sincerely,
Austin C. Taylor,
Chairman, B.C. Security Commission.

5. CONFIDENTIAL

URGENT

Ottawa, June 10th, 1942.

Dear Mr. MacNamara,-

I am enclosing herewith, copy of an air mail report received today (dated June 8th) from Mr. J.H. Mitchell, Engineer in charge of the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway camps covering a Japanese labour strike at Camp B18, Gosnell, B.C. I sent you a copy of Mr. Mitchell's night letter of June 7th, advising that this strike had occurred.

Mr. Mitchell's covering letter shows clearly the attitude of the Japanese that is now being revealed. The evident intention of the agitators in this camp and in other camps is to defy to the extent they dare, constituted authority, and to embarrass all supervisory officers. I would suggest that this letter be shown at once to your Minister.

The copies of the evidence accompanying Mr. Mitchell's report clearly indicate that there were no grounds whatever for this strike, and that the Foreman, Joe Cleavelly, is in no way responsible for it. Under the circumstances we have not the slightest intention of moving the foreman or any of the key men from this camp. To do

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

so when the Japanese are entirely in the wrong would mean absolute loss of control.

In the meantime, the Japanese are not working, but are being fed even although they are not earning it. Our view here is that the Security Commission should immediately remove the agitators from this camp and advise the rest of the Japanese that unless they begin work within twenty-four hours, no more meals will be served. Additional police should at once be sent to the camp to enforce this ruling.

In discussing this problem with Mr. Mills (author's note: Chief Engineer for the Department) this morning, we could not recall a case in twenty-five years where we ever released a foreman because of the complaints of the men in a camp. We could not recall a case where the men in the camp had ever asked for the discharge of a foreman. Where we discharged a foreman it was on account of incompetence from our standpoint.

Obviously, we have reached the stage where a very firm and definite stand must be taken with the Japanese. Otherwise, all the camps can only be regarded as concentration camps, and not as work camps.

We wish to wire Mr. Mitchell this afternoon, approving his stand in this particular matter, and instructing him under no circumstances to move the Foreman or any of the key staff. If you think any other information should be given him, perhaps you would phone me before 4:00 P.M.

Yours very truly,
J.M.WARDLE
Director. (10)

6. (Following is a report of the RCMP.)

Division File M J 21-15-2

Date

June 17th, 1942.

Re: Mass Demonstration by two Japanese Camps

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Japanese In Protected Areas.

1. On the morning of the 17th of June, I received a call via C.N.R. telephone from Grant Brook that the whole camp had left the camp and were proceeding to Red Pass in a body.

2. I immediately contacted Mr. J.H. Mitchell and W. Wishart of the Mines and Resources and then procured a speeder to head them off. I was accompanied by W. Wishart and the B.C. Police, Cst Wisenden. On reaching Rainbow it was apparent that the camp had already reached there as only a distance of 3 1/2 miles separates Grant Brook from Rainbow. Wishart went into the camp to find out their complaint and see if he could talk to them. They would not listen to him and started walking via the road to Red Pass to see Mitchell. I could see by this time that they were bound to talk to Mitchell and him alone, so we decided to return to Red Pass to consult him.

3. On reaching Red Pass, I wired Vancouver and also to Sgt. Faulkner at Jasper. The situation was very critical because when they reached Red Pass there would be three camps to deal with, a matter of 275 men.

4. Mitchell and Wishart drove out in Mitchell's car to meet them and to find out their complaint. They were gone for 2 hours and during that time, the B.C. Police and myself took precautionary steps to see that the women were out of sight and dismissed from the office for the time being. I was in touch with D/Sgt. W.J. Woods at Blue River and with Kamloops regarding a Troop Train that was due in Red Pass in a very short time. Then Mitchell returned and said that all the Japanese had turned back with the exception of twenty that he had given permission to accompany him into Red Pass and make some purchases. I immediately wired Vancouver and Jasper and contacted D/Sgt Woods by phone that the situation was at hand and under control.

5. On questioning Wishart as to the reason for their demonstration, he replied that the Japanese were very angry because their privilege of visiting from camp to camp had been stopped. They are able to travel from camp to camp in this case by the road and see no reason for this privilege to be banned. Mitchell acquiesced

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to their plea and promised that there would be some changes made in this respect.

6. In accordance with the rule set down by the camp, these Japanese have no permission to leave the camp grounds during working hours or at any other time without a permit from Red Pass. They fully realize this but took things into their own hands to get desired results. And they are talking of staying on strike until they get their own way. Further report to follow.

STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION. A.P. Ridley #13773 Cst
i/c Red Pass Detachment. (5)

* * * *

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAM

1942 Jun 18 AM 11 40

RA168 219 NL-REDPASSJCT BC JUNE 17

T S MILLS, CHIEF ENG SURVEYS AND ENGRS BRANCH
DEPT OF MINES AND RESOURCES OTTAWA ONT-

TODAY GRANTBROOK CAMP STRUCK WORK AND A GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE OF ALL JAPANESE TRECKED (sic) TOWARD REDPASS STOP ENROUTE THEY INDUCED ALL THE MEN OF RAINBOW CAMP TO JOIN THEM MAKING A TOTAL OF OVER TWO HUNDRED MEN STOP ON ADVICE OF THIS TREK I DROVE OUT TOWARDS RAINBOW AND INTERCEPTED THE MEN FOUR MILES FROM REDPASS WHERE I RECEIVED THEIR GRIEVANCES STOP GRIEVANCE NUMBER ONE DELAY IN ASSIGNED PAYMENTS TO DEPENDENTS NUMBER TWO CONCERNED AS THEY SAID UNJUSTNESS OF RESTRICTIONS WITH REGARDS TO MEN VISITING CAMPS OTHER THAN THEIR OWN ALSO RESTRICTIONS OF MEN VISITING THE TOWNS ADJACENT TO THE PROJECT SUCH AS JASPER REDPASS BLUERIVER STOP GRIEVANCE NUMBER TWO APPEARED TO BE THE MAIN REASON FOR TREK I TOLD THEM I HAD NO AUTHORITY TO ALTER THESE REGULATIONS BUT WOULD TAKE MATTER UP WITH GOVERNMENT AFTER TWO HOURS

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TALK THE MEN TOOK A VOTE THAT THEY WOULD RETURN TO CAMP BUT WOULD STAY STRUCK UNTIL THE REGULATION WAS MODIFIED OR CANCELLED STOP THE REGULATION REFERRED TO WAS NUMBER TWELVE ADDED TO GENERAL ORDER NUMBER TEN AND WAS PRINCIPALLY ADDED TO RESTRAIN THE JAPANESE FROM VISITING JASPER AND OTHER TOWNS IN LIMITED NUMBERS AND UNDER A PASS BY THE ENGINEER STOP YOUR AUTHORITY TO MODIFY SUCH REGULATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH ABOVE WOULD PROBABLY SATISFY THE MEN IN THIS SECTION-

J H MITCHELL. (10)

7. (Following is a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources.)

Red Pass, B.C.,
June 22, 1942.

Mr. J.H. Mitchell,
Senior Asst. Engineer,
Red Pass, B.C.

Re: Japanese Camps -

Dear Sir, Mr. Walker's Letter, June 13, File E23

The general attitude of the Japanese in the Yellowhead-Blue River project camps appears to me to be now that of a desire to sabotage any attempt to carry on a successful programme.

There are a few Japanese who appear to want to prove themselves good Canadians and to do a fair day's work, but these are held up by intimidation.

There are constantly recurring reports from the keymen in charge of the work that opinions expressed by the Japanese in various camps is that this is to be a military road being built to carry men and supplies to decimate their brothers in Japan and that they are working against their national cause by helping along the project.

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Each camp has some ineffectives varying up to 40% of the camp strength, some aged, some chronically unfit, some recovering from illness. These are given light work in camp for which they receive the regular scale of pay. No appreciation is shown for this.

Of the balance who turn out for work, the value received in real work done is not over 30% to 40% of the wages paid them. For example, light clearing work worth not over \$30.00 per acre costs up to \$100.00 per acre. Dry culvert excavation worth 80¢ per cubic yard costs \$3.00; gravelling costs the same per cubic yard; pulling ties from the old railway grade on a basis of 18 men, 1 month, cost 8¢ per tie. I am advised by those who have done a similar job on contract that they made good wages at 2¢ per tie.

The foremen and keymen are trying to get effective work done in carrying on the project. The Japanese refuse to be hurried from gait they have set. If one of the white staff tries to speed the work along, the Japanese stage a sitdown strike, demanding that he be removed from camp. If a Japanese is appointed as a strawboss and tried to make a showing, his demotion is demanded or else he is intimidated into quitting his post.

Kindness on the part of the staff is looked on as weakness; tolerance as fear; and appeasement with contempt.

When building the camps there was a fair spirit of willingness shown to assist in that work, but now that actual road construction is under way, there is a distinct slowing down on their efforts. This is universal throughout the whole project. The shirkers are not always the trouble-makers; some of the best workers in whom we placed confidence are showing up as chief trouble-makers.

In each camp there are trouble-makers. The removal of these, I believe, would assist temporarily in carrying out the work. I doubt if such would have any lasting beneficial effect, as there appears to be a constantly increasing spirit of general unrest. and of sullenness toward the whites. This grows with any of their national successes on land or sea or air.

It was hoped that with the introduction of teams and mechanical equipment there would be a speeding up to follow these units. The reverse is true. Where a team or unit is dependent on Japanese

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help, these units often have to stand idle along the road while these helpers sit down or move about and do the best they can, but try as hard as they will their work is lacking in effectiveness. We have tried doubling up on the number of men required to assist the machines and teams so that half could work and half sit down.

On a recent walking trip over the grade a distance of 24 miles, covering five camps that should have had at least 350 men working, I saw many out all along the grade, 18 were working on a bridge, and the balance were sitting down. Three out of five foremen who wanted to get something done were "fed up" and wanted to quit and required persuasion to stay on the job and see it through.

I have not an available list of the chief trouble-makers in the camps, but will try to canvass the camps and get such a record.

There are undoubtedly some well-deserving Japanese who should also be listed.

Yours faithfully,
R.M. Corning
Resident Engineer. (23)

8. C.11-19-2-9.
CONFIDENTIAL.

June 24th, 1942.

Dear Mr. St. Laurent,

1. With further reference to my confidential letter to you of the 5th instant, in connection with conditions in Japanese work camps in British Columbia:

2. I have to advise you that reports continue to be received indicating that the unrest in these camps is on the increase, and in some instances is of a serious nature. I have already given the reasons, in my opinion, for this unrest, and understand that the British Columbia Security Commission have already placed before the Government a solution in the form of appropriating a block of land in the vicinity of Slocan City, B.C., building houses thereon

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and moving entire families of Japanese to that area. This is the policy followed in the United States where, in California, entire Japanese families were evacuated from the Pacific Coast area to a land settlement scheme in the interior. I would urge that every consideration be given to adopt a similar policy in connection with the Japanese evacuated from the protected area of British Columbia, and with the least possible delay.

2.(sic) A special inspection by a competent member of this Force is now underway in connection with the Japanese camps in British Columbia, and a full report will, in due course, be submitted. However, certain Press reports and statements by Members of Parliament in the House of Commons compel me to bring up the question of the responsibility of this Force in connection with the policing of the Japanese camps. Hansard, of June 19th, gives the statements of several British Columbia Members of Parliament on the subject of Japanese.

3.In the first instance, the guards provided by this Force were detailed for the purpose of protecting the railway main lines from sabotage where Japanese camps were located in the vicinity. Later, the British Columbia Security Commission requested that these guards undertake the enforcement of certain camp regulations.

4.As this Force has not the uniformed personnel to provide some 400 guards for the above purpose, we are compelled to engage Special Constables of the best material that is available locally. This cannot be considered satisfactory other than for the protection of vulnerable points, and these guards are entirely unsuited to enforce discipline or act as wardens of Japanese in these camps; in fact, they were never intended for such purpose. The average number of these Special Constables per camp is four, whilst the number of Japanese in these camps varies from 50 to 100. Instances have occurred where the Japanese have ignored the orders of the guards, broken through their ranks and assumed a threatening attitude. In some cases, we have found them making weapons in the form of clubs. A report today indicates that a white teamster in the camp at Geikie was clubbed by the Japanese.

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5. From statements made by Members of Parliament, it is obvious that they hold this Force responsible, and are under the impression that the Special Constables are maintained to guard the Japanese and enforce discipline. Recently a Government official, in communicating with another concerning the walk-out of certain Japanese from Grantbrook and Rainbow camps, enquired "What efforts were made by the R.C.M. Police to stop these men - this is their responsibility and not yours".

6. The Member for Sicstoke, in his address in the House stated:-
"I receive communications all the time to the effect that the Japanese camps in northern British Columbia are not properly guarded. They say, for instance, that there is only one gun in a tent in which there are several guards. For that gun there are twelve rounds of ammunition, so that even if you got one Jap with each round of ammunition there would still be plenty of them left to outnumber the guards in the camps."

7. In view of the growing seriousness of the situation in these camps, and the criticism levelled at this Force and the Government, may I ask that a ruling be given on the following questions with the least possible delay:-

(1) Have the Police the right to place armed guards over Japanese who are British subjects in these camps, where these Japanese are not under detention, but have volunteered for highway construction work?

(2) What degree of force by such guards is legally justifiable in enforcing camp regulations by the B.C. Security Commission for the conduct of voluntary Japanese workers in these camps, where these Japanese are British subjects by birth or naturalization?

(3) May I have your ruling, also, on the same points where camps are composed of Japanese Nationals who are not under detention.

8. I should draw to your attention that P.C.1665 provides a penalty for infraction of orders made under its authority and British Columbia Security Commission Order #10 prohibits workers from proceeding beyond the boundaries of the highway camps in which they are employed without permission, etc.

9. With regard to the Special Constable guards under criticism, I would draw to your attention the fact that these men are not regular

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members of the Force, but are mostly draftees; unfortunately, we are unable to recruit sufficient men of the required standard into the regular Force to permit of using regular members for these duties.

The Honourable Louis St.Laurent
P.C.,K.C.,M.P.,
Minister of Justice,
OTTAWA,Ontario.

Yours faithfully

(S.T.Wood)
Commissioner. (23)

STW/PLS

9. *(The following is a report of the RCMP.)*

Ottawa, Ontario,
June 29, 1942.

MEMORANDUM TO:

The Commissioner,
R. C. M. Police,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Sir:

Re: Conditions in Japanese Work Camps
(General)

1.Adverting to your confidential memorandum dated the 17th instant with attachments received via airmail at Vancouver headquarters and in compliance with verbal instructions from the Officer Commanding "E" Division received in the a.m. of the 20th instant, the writer left Vancouver via C.N.R. that late p.m. and proceeded to Red Pass Junction, B.C. for the purpose of making a complete survey of present conditions in all of the Japanese Work Camps situated on both the C.N.R. and C.P.R. main lines in British Columbia, covering fifteen Japanese Work Camps situated immediately adjacent to this stretch of main C.N.R. track, the writer proceeding in the late p.m. of the 23rd instant via C.N.R. to Kamloops, B.C. where inspection of the six Japanese Camps

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located on the main line of the C.P.R. between Sicamous and Revelstoke, B.C. was conducted. Following this patrol was continued to Calgary where T.C.A. reservation had been previously obtained via that airline to Ottawa. Owing to weather conditions the writer was grounded for a considerable time at Lethbridge, Alberta and was unable to arrive at Ottawa until 3 a.m. on the morning of the 28th instant where arrival was immediately reported.

2. Before outlining the actual conditions and other pertinent facts in connection with the general situation in these Work Camps and dealing with the main line of the C.N.R. on which fifteen Japanese Work Camps are located, the following is briefly detailed:

On this main C.N.R. line between Jasper (sic), Alberta to Red Pass Junction, B.C., a distance of approximately 50 miles connecting with the only method of military transportation from Alberta to the west coast of B.C. at Prince Rupert and for a distance of approximately 100 miles on the main C.N.R. line from Red Pass Junction to Blue River, B.C. being the main C.N.R. route from the Prairie to Vancouver, B.C. there are fifteen Japanese Work Camps being operated under the control of the Department of Mines and Resources which employ approximately 1500 Japanese who have been evacuated from the west coast Protected Area.

3. The General (sic) terrain of this area along the railway right of way is through the canons (sic) where a great deal of rock cuttings were necessary which are all subject to dangerous land slides, also a great number of wooden trestles and steel bridges are present throughout this entire stretch of track. The fifteen Japanese Camps are all located immediately adjacent to or in close proximity on either side of the railroad, some Camps being in full view of the track, others being situated a short distance back through the timber out of sight from the track. For the general protection of the railroad right of way Jasper to Prince Rupert the C.N.R. maintain approximately ninety-five special railway guards stationed at all of the larger steel bridges so destruction would necessarily entail considerable time. Since the inception of these Japanese Road Camps the R. C. M. P. has also inaugurated a system of stationing a number of the Special Constables of this

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

Force in the vicinity of each Japanese Road Camp, at present four Special Constables being stationed at each camp, one of this number at each Camp being appointed as supervisor in charge of that particular unit responsible for the conduct, discipline and duties of the other three members. Their duties briefly are to patrol the track east and west in the vicinity of the Japanese working parties and give particular attention to the condition of any trestles, bridges or any dangerous rock cuts and curves in their area, one guard being on track duty at all hours of the day and night maintaining a continual guard over that particular area of track. They are instructed not to interfere with the Japanese labourers in these camps in any way except in the line of duty as it must be understood that these Japanese labourers are merely employed on this work project for wages and are not to be considered as internees or prisoners in any way, the discipline of these camps being the direct responsibility of the white foremen in each camp employed by the Department of Mines and Resources and responsible to the Senior Engineer in Charge of that project.

4. As conditions at practically each of these particular Road Camps on the C.N.R. have, during the past few weeks, become noticeably unsatisfactory the writer, during this most recent survey has discussed the situation at length with various officials of the Department of Mines and Resources, the RCMP guard supervisors, camp foremen, Japanese labourers and others with a view to obtaining an intelligent cross section of opinion regarding the actual conditions and cause thereof, having in mind the potential danger of consertive (sic) sabotage by the Japanese from the various camps in the event, which appears not unlikely, of their present resentment and hostility taking form in conserted (sic) open rebellion or stealthy action.

5. It must first be stressed that throughout this entire line of camps there is definite dissatisfaction and resentment among the Japanese, the primary construction work around which they are employed is not progressing even half-heartedly. The camp foreman in each respective camp as a general rule have no control or influence over these employees in so far as compelling or inducing a faster progress and the Japanese take advantage of the

THE EXILES

situation continually by passive resistance to work as they are fully aware of the situation and the weakness of the policy adopted in dealing with them, sit-down strikes are numerous at practically all the camps and are called at the slightest provocation with the knowledge that to maintain peace and at least continue a show of progress the hands of the Department Officials and the camp foremen are effectively tied, with the result that further concessions are continually necessary.

6. From the survey made by the writer there appears to be absolutely no legitimate reason why this condition should have arisen as the food and accommodations in these camps are of the best, the Japanese are not bullied or ill treated by any of the camp officials, they are not molested or intimidated by any of the Special Constables who guard the right of way, and with the exception of the "pass" system which was found necessary in connection with their numerous requests to visit from camp to camp, their living conditions under the circumstances are extremely fair. After much enquiry and weighing various opinions received and from both white officials and Japanese the writer is of the definite opinion that the fundamental cause of discontent amongst these Japanese can safely be attributed to separation from their families, this added to various personal worries, dissatisfaction over the nature of their employment, undoubted agitation by certain strong pro-Japanese elements which are present at each camp and which have increased in view of the news regarding recent Japanese successes, all contribute to the present unsatisfactory situation which can be termed as a definite and actual reason of wholesale sabotage throughout this approximately 150 miles of main line C.N.R. if a single incident of force occurs which might set off a spark to run through the entire number of camps.

7. With this in mind it would appear that the main consideration must, of course be decided on as to whether this Yellow Head Highway project located parallel and adjacent to the main line of the C.N.R. as described in the foregoing portion of this report is of necessarily immediate importance from a military standpoint, if so and viewing the entire situation carefully and weighing the various angles and problems viewed in this connection the situation

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resolves itself very clearly and definitely into the fact that two vital reasons undoubtedly necessitate immediately removal of these Japanese from this project:

(1) and most important for immediate consideration, elimination of the present and eminent (sic) danger of conservative (sic) sabotage of the main C.N.R. line Jasper, Alberta to Red Pass Junction, B.C., approximately 50 miles of main line connecting with the only method of military transportation to Prince Rupert, B.C. on the west coast and also approximately 100 miles of main line C.N.R. from Red Pass Junction to Blue River, affording direct C.N.R. route to Vancouver on the west coast.

(2) If this Yellow Head (sic) project is decided to be a military necessity a vastly more efficient construction program at less actual cost per mile would be affected (sic) in the building of the highway concerned if these discontented Japanese labourers were removed and up-to-date machinery and white labour employed at going wages.

This latter opinion by the writer may appear open to argument but is being submitted only after due consideration and consultation with the various officials of the Department of Mines and Resources now actually supervising the work of this construction project.

8. Supporting this contention and of special interest in this connection the following is embodied as an enlightening glimpse of the actual progress and value received from the Japanese labour now employed. These official facts and the opinion expressed therein were supplied the writer on a confidential basis after various discussions and an actual field survey of conditions with R.M. Corning, Resident Engineer and J.H. Mitchell, Engineer in Charge of that project. The following is an excerpt from report dated the 22nd instant submitted by R.M. Corning, Resident Engineer, to J.H. Mitchell, Engineer in Charge Yellow Head project, Department of Mines and Resources and is self explanatory: *(Author's note: here followed an extract of Corning's report 7. above beginning with the first paragraph and ending at: "The result, however, is that all do a little work for a while and then all sit down.")*

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9. During this recent survey the writer has been informed by various guard supervisors and camp foremen that they have knowledge that the Japanese are secretly meeting Japanese from other camps in the bush at night after working hours, strictly speaking this is a violation of one of the B.C. Security Commission's regulations as these Japanese are not supposed to leave their own camp confines unless on a working party in the day time or on pass signed by the camp officials, however enforcement of this regulation would only precipitate trouble and this regulation like many others supposed to be enforced are discreetly ignored. Taking the number of wooden trestles which could easily be sabotaged at night by one or more Japanese with camp axes and allowing for the known hostility to increase as it no doubt rapidly will and the particulars of stealthy inter-camp personal communication as pointed out above throughout this line of camps, it must be pointed out that if so inclined the most hostile and pro-Japanese units in each camp could easily arrange a concerted (sic) action of each camp unit on a prearranged night, whereby each unit could leave their bunkhouses around midnight without fear of detection sabotage or weaken one or more wooden railway trestles in each respective camp area throughout this 140 mile stretch and return to their bunkhouses before daylight undetected. This possibility has been given careful consideration in view of the conditions which exist in these camps and it would appear to be an actual definite risk as if this were carried out apart from wrecking the first train running over this line east or west, the entire stretch would be sabotaged and effectually (sic) block military transportation via C.N.R. to either Prince Rupert on the West coast or Vancouver for a considerable period.

10. A further fact which must be given consideration as soon as possible is the definite and actual threat of a breach of the peace occurring as a result of the present policy of appeasement and sporadic removal of various agitators, actual violence has been avoided on more than one occasion very recently only by granting further concession to the Japanese in the particular camps affected. This, on one occasion necessitated the temporary release of an agitator who had been taken into custody by a uniformed Member

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

of this Force, this being the only apparent method of preventing a hostile riot at that time. It might also be added that sufficient force to overcome this resistance was promptly dispatched and this particular agitator and fifteen other agitators from Gosnell Work Camp were taken into custody and escorted to Vancouver for internment. It might be advisable to also mention that at this particular Camp at Gosnell, B.C. where 100 Japanese are employed the camp foreman informs that to date twelve axes which were issued to the Japanese labourers and checked in each evening are reported as missing. This may be a series of bona fide losses but in view of the grave and dangerous situation it would appear quite probable that these sharp felling axes may have been cached for some ulterior reason.

11.Regarding the various suggestion that this railway right of way be adequately guarded, it should be stressed that with these Japanese Road Camps adjacent to the railroad and the Japanese labourers in their present hostile state of mind, it would be an impossible task to adequately guard this stretch of track to prevent entire risk of sabotage. The only sensible solution to this problem being a complete removal of the Japanese concerned from that area to be effected as soon as possible.

12.The foregoing fairly outlines the present situation which exists along the Main Line of the C.N.R. from Jasper, Alta. to Red Pass Junction & Blue River, B.C. The writer also wishes to point out that every precaution has been taken during this enquiry and also submission of this report to avoid any suggestion of possibly being classed as an alarmist, and the facts detailed herein have been submitted only after due consideration and weighing up of the unsatisfactory and dangerous situation which actually exists along this Railway Right-of-way.

13.Regarding the C.P.R. Main line Sicamous to Revelstoke, B.C. along which several other Japanese Work Camps are situated, no immediate concern is felt in this area, as the situation is altogether different and these are almost what might be described as "Happy Camps" compared with the Yellowhead area Camps on the C.N.R. and actual worth-while progress is being made by the Japanese labourers at each Camp. No recommendation would be in order at

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the present time for the removal of these Camps, insofar as present danger of sabotage to the adjacent railway, as the Japanese are in a contented state of mind, with only minor disturbances occurring, and the general friendly attitude of these Japanese is quite noticeable, at present, in comparison with the Yellowhead project labourers.

14. However, it must also be pointed out, that if the Yellowhead area Japanese along the C.N.R. are moved, and ultimately settled in some community where they can be re-united with their families, this information will quickly travel to all similar work projects throughout the entire country, and immediate dissatisfaction and probably sit-down strikes etc.,

15. The above facts and opinions sum up to the best of the Writer's ability the situation as it exists today, and in conclusion on this report the following points are enumerated as highlights of this situation warranting careful study and special consideration:

(1) The Police lack legal authority to place armed guards over the Japanese in these Camps, where these Japanese are not under detention, but have volunteered for highway construction work.

(2) The Special Constables employed as guards are not legally justified in using force to compel Japanese nationals or British subjects to comply with regulations or orders issued by the British Columbia Security Commission or the Camp Authorities.

(3) The 400 Special Constables employed as guards are entirely unsuited and untrained to act as wardens of these Japanese and are only suitable for employment in guarding vulnerable points, such as the Railway right-of-way.

(4) The strength of the uniformed Force of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police does not permit us to supply guards in sufficient numbers to remove the danger of sabotage from the Japanese in these Camps.

(5) The attitude of the Japanese has changed for the worse since their arrival on the construction work, the reasons for which are set forth in the report.

(6) Ill-informed criticism by Members of Parliament, the public and the press, and the natural alarm of passengers on trains, cannot be

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met other than by the removal of the Japanese from the Railway main lines.

(7) The treatment and situation in regard to Japanese nationals and British subjects in these Camps will undoubtedly be adversely commented on by the Consul General for Spain when he visits these Camps in the near future, which, in turn, may have its effect on the treatment of Canadian citizens now interned by the Japanese.

(8) An obvious increase in the number of Special Constable guards at each camp is no solution to the problem.

(9) The recommendation is made that the Japanese be removed from all camps in the vicinity of Railway main lines

(Sgd) W.J. Woods D/Sergt.

#8952 W.J. Woods

On Command from "E" Division.

OTTAWA, 29-6-42.

C. 11-19-2-9.

WJW/GM (8)

10.

COPY

SECRET

July 10th 1942.

A meeting of the sub-committee of the Cabinet on Japanese work camps on the Blue River Highway was held in the Privy Council Chamber on Friday June (sic) 10th at 11.00 a.m.

Present: The Minister of Mines and Resources

(Mr Crerar),

The Minister of Justice

(Mr St Laurent),

The Minister of Labour

(Mr Mitchell),

The Under Secretary of State for External Affairs

(Mr Robertson),

Commissioner S.T. Wood, R.C.M. Police,

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Assistant Commissioner F.J.Mead,
R.C.M.Police,
Associate Deputy Minister of Labour
(Mr A.MacNamara),
Brigadier R.B.Gibson, Department of
National Defence,
Mr J.M.Wardle, Department of Mines and
Resources, and
J.R.Baldwin, Privy Council Office

Mr Crerar explained that the purpose of the Committee meeting was, at the request of the War Committee, to discuss measures which might be taken to deal with the unsatisfactory condition existing along the Blue River highway. A report had been received from the R.C.M.Police, and concurred in by National Defence. There was, apparently, no adequate means at hand for coping with dissatisfaction and forestalling potential outbreaks.

It was pointed out in discussion that there was no satisfactory method of disciplining the Japanese in the camps unless an actual breach of the peace occurred. Because of the nature of the camps, men could not be discharged, while other disciplinary action only added to the dissatisfaction. Interning of agitators had taken place in several instances, but wholesale internment was impracticable.

Commissioner Wood explained that special constables of the R.C.M.Police were employed along the adjoining C.N.R. line, but their powers extended only to the guarding of the railroad right-of-way. He blamed the deterioration within the camps on separation of families, worries over business, unsuitability of work, and recent Japanese successes in the Pacific War, and pointed out that ineffectiveness of discipline in the camps had led the Japanese to take Canadian policy as a sign of weakness.

Mr Crerar emphasized that the main danger was to wooden trestle bridges along the railway which might be weakened surreptitiously by Japanese workers.

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Mr Mitchell and Mr MacNamara explained that the policy of the Department of Labour in regard to the camps had recently changed. It was now planned to remove all married men from the camps and establish them with their families in tent cities in the interior of British Columbia, and from these tent cities gradually to move them to farms or into interior areas where farmwork was available. It was intended, also, to move the single men from the camps to Schreiber, Ontario, subject to the concurrence of the Ontario Provincial Government, and from Schreiber to disperse them in lumber camps.

It was estimated that this movement would take from six weeks to two months. In the meantime, Mr MacNamara reported that the news of this projected change had caused a great improvement of feeling within the camps, and that, according to the latest reports, there was much less dissatisfaction and unrest.

Assistant Commissioner Mead pointed out that this new policy was a considerable improvement, and was in harmony with the feeling of the British Columbia Security Commission that the Japanese should be removed from the vicinity of railroads.

Mr Crerar stated that, in view of the plans of the Department of Labour the Committee need not consider long range plans for protection, but should determine whether, during the next two months while the movement of the Japanese was taking place, any added protection against sabotage was necessary.

After discussion, it was agreed:

1. That the Japanese in the work camps should be moved from the vicinity of the railroads in accordance with the plans of the Department of Labour;
2. That every effort should be made to accelerate these plans; and
3. That the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Labour, and officials of their respective departments, should consider what additional protection was needed in the camps or in their vicinity during the period which must elapse before the evacuation of the camps had been completed, and should take steps to see that any necessary protective measures were put into effect.

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The meeting adjourned at 12.05 p.m.

(Sgd) J.R.Baldwin. (23)

11. (July 1942)

REPORT ON PRESENT CONDITIONS IN JAPANESE WORK CAMPS

1. Under the present setup in the Japanese National Work Camps, there is little likelihood of these camps being a success. The reasons are many and varied, some of which are outlined below:

a) The Japanese are very much attached to their families and under the present conditions there are no provisions made - in fact, under existing conditions no provision could be made to accommodate families.

b) A labourer in these camps averages 22 working days a month. At 25¢ an hour, this makes \$44 per month. \$22.50 is deducted for meals and if he has a family to support, another \$20 is deducted. Medical and Unemployment Insurance takes another \$2, so there is nothing, or at best \$2.00 for him to spend at the commissary. If he did not work at all he would receive his meals, his family would receive \$20 and he receives \$5 to spend at the commissary. Therefore a man is better off to swing the lead and report sick for an entire month.

c) There is no way for a man to be disciplined for not working or just pretending to work. You cannot fire him as on an ordinary construction job, or put him in the guard room as in the army, so naturally they do as little work as possible.

d) We are encouraging the people in occupied France to slow up and sabotage the enemy war effort. The Japanese have radios and realize what this can do, also there are committees of Japanese moving from camp to camp preaching just this propaganda. All our strikes have been caused by this. They find some small complaint and enlarge on it; the foreman or timekeeper may have sworn at one of them, or he may come into camp with liquor on his

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breath. They sign a petition enlarging on this complaint, causing a costly investigation, and unless the alleged offender is removed they continue to strike. As they always have some slight grounds for complaints, the man concerned is either let go or is fed up with conditions that he quits - a moral victory for the Japs in any case.

e) When a new foreman is appointed, knowing the reason the previous man quit he follows the line of least resistance and caters to the Japanese, and thus the committee is running the foreman and the camp.

f) The writer has had many years of experience in charge of Relief Camps under the Department of National Defence and the Provincial Government. It costs from \$100 to \$125 per man per month to operate these camps and with 1500 Japs in these camps it will cost at least \$150,000 per month and the monthly returns of road work will not average \$1,000. There is not much object in trying to build roads this way and if the war lasts two years, the Government will have spent 4 million dollars and will have very little standard road to show for it.

2. There has been considerable money spent erecting camps in this area and as the road is badly needed, this work could go on a far more economical basis. If the married men were removed from these camps and single men left, say 50 able-bodied men to each camp, and the foremen given the authority to graduate the pay of the men as a reward for good workers and not as it is at the present time - where the men are paid a scale for carpenters, culvert men and flunkies, etc. A carpenter can malingere the same as a labourer, and this system of rewards would do away with that.

3. One camp should be set aside for malingerers and agitators. This camp could be inside the project, all privileges taken from it, and staffed by strict foremen. The men compelled to work or kept confined, and I am sure it would not be long before they would want to go back to a work camp.

4. At present there are 4 guards to each camp, and if 100 men wanted to break out, they just walk past the guards. I would have two men at each camp just to see that the lights were out and camp regulations were observed. The remaining 32 guards should be

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stationed at some central point, say Albreda or Red Pass, where they are immediately available if trouble occurs and enough transportation ready to take them to any camp. These men should be trained in handling crowds and should have enough equipment to deal with any situation that could arise. (10)

COPY/AB

12. AIR MAIL Banff, Alberta.
 July 20th, 1942.

Dear Sir: Re: Inspection trip with Spanish
 Consul General.

* * * *

As instructed by you, in recent correspondence, I arranged to meet Senor Schwartz, Spanish Consul General and other members of his party, for an inspection of certain of our Japanese camps.

I left Banff on the morning of the 16th instant, arriving in Haig at 5 a.m. on the 17th, met Senor Schwartz, Mr. Maag, International Red Cross Representative, Commissioner Meade, Commissioner Shirras of the B.C. Security Commission, together with Dr. Rive, Secretary of External Affairs, Mr. Bernard, Spanish Vice-Consul of Vancouver, and together with these gentlemen drove to our Camp No. 1, 11 miles from Hope. These gentlemen made a thorough inspection of this camp, although at the time of inspection it was raining hard and had been raining for some days previously. As a consequence of the rainy spell, the camp grounds were in a very wet condition, but Senor Schwartz, Commissioner Meade and Mr. Maag, expressed themselves as very well satisfied indeed with conditions at this camp.

In order that the Spanish Consul General would obtain a true picture of feeding conditions in the camp, I had the entire delegation served with their luncheon in the Japanese dining-room at the same time as the Japanese workmen were having their lunch, and the delegation were served with the identical foods as supplied to the Japanese. No special efforts nor any special foods were

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supplied. In fact, the cooks were not aware of the fact that we would be having lunch at this camp until the noon day gong rang. The entire members of the delegation expressed themselves as being extremely pleased with,- not only with the quality of the food supplied but also with the manner in which it was served, together with the general state of cleanliness in both the dining-room and kitchen.

Subsequent to interviews held by Senor Schwartz and Mr. Maag with the Japanese Committee at this camp, as well as with a number of other Japanese individuals, we proceeded by car to the site of Trite's Ranch at Mile approximately 14.2 from Hope. We spent several hours examining various buildings, etcetera, at this camp in the midst of a heavy down-pour of rain. Since neither Messrs. Schwartz nor Maag expressed any desire to inspect our Camp No.2, which was approximately three-quarters of a mile distant, I left the delegation at Trite's range, and in company with Mr. Webster, I proceeded to our camp No.2 and looked over everything in connection with this camp. There are as you know, only some fourteen Japanese at present resident here, together with the necessary key men. In the meantime the delegation had returned to Hope and motored to Chilliwack. In the late evening, still in the rain, I had Mr. Webster drive me down to Hope, and I got the same train to Red Pass as the previously mentioned members of the delegation got at Chilliwack, for the same point.

We arrived at Red Pass about 11.30 a.m. and remained there inspecting the Red Pass and Rainbow camps until 5 p.m. The entire delegation thoroughly inspected all points of interest in connection with the Red Pass camp. During this inspection Messrs. Schwartz and Maag interviewed numerous Japanese in addition to their interview with the self-appointed Japanese committee.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Gough, Superintendent of the Canadian National Railways, Kamloops to Jasper Division, we were provided with Mr. Gough's Private car, and by means of such we were enabled to make an inspection for the Geikie tent camp with no great inconvenience. As the rain still persisted, Mr. Gough had the local east bound train, and to which his private car

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was attached, placed on the switch at Geikie, and from this switch it was only a couple of minutes walk to the Geikie camp. A somewhat lengthy interview and inspection was made at this camp, with full opportunity given to Messrs. Schwartz and Maag, and all other members of the delegation to thoroughly inspect everything in connection therewith.

We arrived in Jasper at about 10 p.m. and immediately proceeded to Jasper Park Lodge. Discussions re conditions, etcetera, in our camps were then continued until 1 a.m. Sunday morning. Messrs. Schwartz and Maag had no criticism whatsoever to make of our permanent frame camps. They did, however, state that several Japanese at the Geikie camp had complained to them of leaky tents. This was easily understandable under the circumstances, since it had been raining very hard, and almost continuously for some four or five days, and incidentally, I might mention that some of our tents were old. In reply thereto I mentioned the fact that for a considerable number of years I had lived in tents both winter and summer and had, at times experience the inconvenience of leaky tents. I pointed out, however, that after all I had not considered myself particularly ill-used because the occasional drop of water happened to get through the canvas. Apropos this matter I had previously been informed that orders for Preservo or other water-proofing material for canvas, had been sent to firms several weeks ago, but up to the present time we had been unable to get delivery of same.

I informed Messrs. Schwartz and Maag of this condition. These gentlemen also stated that several complaints had been made by the Japanese at Geikie camp that they would appreciate the serving of more greens. I pointed out the difficulty, and in fact the impossibility of getting greens for table use in any quantity until within the last couple of weeks. In fact, until approximately two weeks ago it was almost impossible to obtain greens, such as cauliflower, beets, peas, lettuce, etc., for private use anywhere in the west unless such edibles were shipped in from Texas or some other southern United States points.

Since greens are now being supplied from local British Columbia markets, the Japanese will, in future, be supplied with these in

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

ample quantity. The delegation appeared to be quite satisfied with this explanation, in so far as I could see.

Aside from these two points as per the above the members of the delegation expressed to me their appreciation of efforts made on our behalf, to provide as many conveniences and comforts as were possible for the Japanese Nationals in our camps, not only on the Yellowhead-Blue River project, but also on the Hope end of the Hope-Princeton. The only suggestion that they had to make for improved morale in such camps was the reuniting of the married men with their families. This, however, has already been under discussion and should be in operation within a short period.

I left the delegation on Sunday morning at Jasper, since they were proceeding to Kananaskis and Lethbridge.

I returned to Banff in the afternoon of the 19th instant.

As stated several times above, we had almost continuous rains during this inspection trip, and consequently, although numerous photographs of the camps were taken by the delegates, it is most unlikely that any of these photographs will be of any value.

Faithfully yours,
(sgd) C.M.Walker.
Supervising Engineer. (21)

13. (Following is a "SECRET" report of the RCMP.)

Province
British Columbia

Date
July 29th, 1942.

re: Conditions in Japanese Work Camps
SECRET (General)

File References

1. Adverting to confidential memorandum of The Commissioner, dated the 13th instant and in compliance with your verbal instructions, the writer left Vancouver in the PM of the 19th instant to visit all the Japanese Work Camps situated along the main line

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of the C.N.R., between Blue River, B.C., and Jasper, Alberta. These camps consisting of what is commonly known as the Yellowhead Road Project, and at the conclusion of this patrol, the writer returned to Vancouver via the C.N.R. in the AM of the 25th instant.

2.The submission of this report has purposely been held up for the past two days in order to gain time to observe whether removal action would actually be instituted as rapidly as proposed. As of even date it appears that this removal is being put into effect without delay, and as rapidly as possible, as the B.C.Security Commission have dispatched a representative, one E.McGachan, to Red Pass, B.C., to assist the officials of Mines and Resources with this movement.

3.On the whole, there is no doubt but that the new policies being at present rapidly put into effect by the B.C.Security Commission and the Department of Mines and Resources with regard to removing the Japanese from their present employment and wherever possible, reuniting families, and also providing other employment for single Japanese, has certainly eliminated all the former tension and hostility, which previously existed among these camps, and it is anticipated that no difficulty or trouble will be encountered in their present removal. Neither is it thought that there is any undue risk of danger in the line of sabotage to the C.N.R. main line adjacent while this movement is being completed, as the information received by the Japanese regarding the new policies being adopted, has apparently effectively dissipated their former restlessness and hostility for the time being.

4.Whilst on this patrol the writer called at each one of the 15 camps along this line and discussed the pending arrangements, and policy being now pursued, with the respective Japanese camp committees, and it is felt that a certain angle, which was brought up at practically each camp by these Japanese representatives, should be outlined herein for the information of both the B.C.Security Commission and Headquarters.

5.Briefly the following outlines this problem from the view point of these Japanese, and as it appears a quite reasonable one, the writer will attempt to deal with it at length as follows:

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

6.The question now put forth by the single Nationals is as quote, "Why does the Security Commission not allow us the same opportunity to earn a decent living for ourselves, as is given to other individuals classed as Enemy Aliens of German, Italian, and other origin?" when the Evacuation from the Protected Area was first instituted, apparently all Japanese (i.e.Canadian Born, naturalized and Japanese Nationals) were classed to all intents and purposes as Enemy Aliens insofar as their removal from their homes, occupations and pursuits within the Protected Area.

7.In the case of Enemy Aliens of other than Japanese Nationality, such as Italians, Germans and so forth, they were ordered removed from the Protected Area by a certain date, but allowed to accept remunerative employment elsewhere, with the sole restriction that they must report once a month as required, to the nearest Registrar, to have their Certificate of Parole endorsed. In the case of the Japanese Canadian Born and Naturalized, they were also allowed to proceed east to Ontario to employment , but no such policy was adopted in dealing with the Japanese Nationals, as they were arbitrarily placed in these labour camps in B.C. at what they call, cheap labour, for low wages.

8.These Japanese Nationals, both single males and males classed as single, by reason of their families being in Japan, tacitly admit that they have not exerted themselves to help construction work at this project since being evacuated and placed there, but they are quite emphatic that they could, and would, hold their end up with any class of labour, if they did not feel that they were being discriminated against, and if they were placed in logging, milling, or pulp industries outside the Protected Area at the going wage.

9.It appears from the policy now being adopted by the Commission that the married Nationals from these camps will be allowed to join their families in towns and settlements, etc., already inhabited by Canadian Born and Naturalized Japanese, the single Japanese Nationals in these particular camps, feel that this wise policy should be extended to them also, in so far as rescinding or cancelling the former policy of segregation and discrimination, and allowing them to be employed as stated above. They suggest that if the B.C.Security Commission rescind its

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ruling barring Japanese Nationals from employment in Ontario, and in view of the known acute shortage of labour there, if they should be placed in employment at going wages in either logging, milling or pulp industries, as suggested, all that would be necessary insofar as government expense or supervision is concerned, would be naturally, the consent of the provincial authorities concerned, and a Security Commission representative in the field to whom they would report in the event of changing employment, and so forth, in order that the B.C. Security Commission records might be kept up-to-date as to their movements.

10. As stated, the present attitude of these Japanese is quite satisfactory owing to the information regarding the new policies to be adopted, and no trouble is expected during this movement, however, with the above view point as presented by these Japanese single Nationals, the writer feels obligated to point out that, undoubtedly, trouble will later be met with after they are merely transplanted from the Yellowhead project to some other similar road project at the same 25 cents per hour rate of pay, and with no likelihood of their later being placed in industrial employment, as suggested.

11. The obvious reason for this being that they would then certainly realize that they had been moved, not in any attempt to better their lot, and satisfy their varied grievances, but purely as a selfish military precaution, from their point of view, and they would also be without the many little living conveniences which they had laboriously built up in their individual camps along the Yellowhead project during the past few months, in anticipation of being quartered there for the duration of the War. Being quite conversant with the past attitude, mental resentment, and hostility of this particular group of Japanese Nationals, the writer feels free to predict that under these conditions, and given time for fresh resentment to mature into open demonstration at their new employment, the probable result will be a demand for mass internment this Fall, as a means of protesting against, what they feel, is unfair discrimination.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

12.The writer feels that this undesirable situation could certainly be avoided if the B.C.Security Regulations, which prohibit Japanese Nationals from employment in the Ontario logging and milling industries, were revoked, and an attempt made as soon as possible, to place those Nationals wishing to volunteer for this sort of employment at going wages. If this suggestion is considered of merit, and followed, and these Japanese single Nationals promptly informed of the tentative arrangements being made on their behalf, they would in all probability continue whatever work they were assigned to in the meantime, and cause no trouble whatsoever.

13.Regarding the movement which is at present taking place, and quoting information supplied by the B.C. Security Commission statistician, and also having knowledge of the day to day removances which are taking place at these individual camps under the direction of E. McGachan, and the engineer in charge of the Yellowhead Works project, as of even date, July 29th, approximately 345 Japanese have already been removed, leaving approximately 800 in the various camps. Information has already been received by the writer this date, that the east end camps of Geikie, Decoigne, and Yellowhead have been already evacuated with the exception of small volunteer working parties left to dismantle each camp. Further information has also been received that the next three camps consisting of Lucerne, Grant Brook, and Rainbow, will also be completely evacuated by Friday, July 31st, which will swell the removal to that date considerably, and it is confidently expected, at the present rate of progress, that these entire 15 camps will be completely cleared out within the next two weeks.

14.From information received from the B.C.Security Commission embodied for the information of Headquarters, it is understood that the married Japanese from these camps are being transported for the most part direct to Hope, B.C., for placement with their families at various newly formed towns and settlements, wherever possible. The single Nationals who are classed as capable workers are also being taken direct to Hope for placement on other projects, such as the Hope-Princeton Highway Project, which has already been commenced, and the ineffective, such as chronically

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unfit, aged, and infirm, and so forth, in most cases have returned to Vancouver for ultimate placement from that point. These projected placements are, of course, elastic, and subject to changes as circumstances may require. In the case of the married Japanese being removed, and reunited wherever possible with their families, no comments be made regarding their genuine agreement and appreciation of this new policy being adopted, and the writer would again refer to the comments embodied in this report regarding the probable later resentment of the single Nationals, and Nationals classed as single, who are being removed and placed in other work projects as outlined herein. As this angle has been practically the main issue involved and discussed by the writer with many of these various camp committees whilst on this patrol, I would suggest that the facts outlined herein, should be given, at least careful consideration by the B.C. Security Commission, if possible.

(SGD) D/Sgt.

(W. J. Woods) #8952.

The Commissioner,
R.C.M. Police,
Ottawa, Ont.

Sir:

FORWARDED for your information. In this connection attention is drawn to your confidential communication of July 13th. You will note that in his survey, D/Sgt. Woods found a much better attitude than had formerly existed amongst the Japanese at these camps, but that the changes now being effected will not entirely adjust the situation.

2. Your particular attention is drawn to that portion of his report which deals with the Japanese Nationals who are classed as single and you will see that the possibility of danger is not as yet entirely eliminated.

Vancouver
29-7-42
JKB/G

(SGD)
(E.C.P. Salt) Supt.,
for O.C. "E" Division (A.O.D.)

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

14. COPY

APPENDIX "B"

At the request of B.C.Security Commission and our willingness, that Mr.I.Nishio and J.Tanaka proceeded to various Japanese Working Camps at Jasper district to explain our compatriots the details of the new policy entered into families. Both of us were present at the conference on the 1st of July at the B.C.Security Commission office and are well acquainted with different angles of the scheme. That Mr.I.Nishio and J.Tanaka acted in our own accord not as the Member of the Protecting Power (reporting to Spanish Consul).

- 1.Plan reunion of married men and families.
- 2.That all persons of Japanese race shall be reunited before winter arrives with their respective families into properly facilitated place before winter season.
- 3.That the Government shall provide feeding, clothing, hospitalization, education, care and protection.
- 4.That the designated place of evacuation is to be such as to have farming facilities or other meaning of the self supporting as so far as may be necessary.
- 5.That there are men working who are not physically capable and many of them are too old to work shall be removed to so called Ghost-Towns as soon as this can be arranged, regardless they are bachelor.
- 6.That those who are interned may also have opportunity to appeal for clemency in order that they may go back to work, wherever the Commission decides and that they will be reunited with their families at various places in the Dominion of Canada.

That in our opinion and B.C.Security Commission to explain this new Policy of Re-union of the families to our compatriots will relieve their uneasiness.

That our general impression in various Japanese Working Camp was satisfactory. We understand their stays at the Working Camp is only matter of couple months, however may not be necessary, we wish to make following recommendation for your consideration.

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1. That social welfare work and amusement such as library, moving picture, games, sports, and lecturers to visit working camps.

2. That minister should visit working camps occasionally to comfort the men's morale.

3. That foremen require's to be men of understanding of Japanese with good personality.

4. That Japanese Camp workers also should see the side of foreman, endeavour to co-operate with him.

5. That regulation and restriction at the different working camps should be lenient as possible.

6. That any minor trouble arising in the working camp should be settled locally as possible between foreman and representative of Japanese Camp.

7. That for sickness and acute cases such as appendicitis in the camp should be given immediate care, that medical improvement should be made wherever may be necessary.

8. That married man at camp after assigned twenty dollars for wife and deduct Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation and meals, leave insufficient to purchase necessary article for daily work such as working boots, shirts, socks, towel, tobacco, and etc., should be supplied for those worker who require.

9. That Japanese meals which they are accustomed should be served as much as possible, and much fresh vegetable possibly can should be supplied.

10. That housing for single men at camp which may remain there at winter should be improved and also every consideration given for their future welfare and security.

11. That Camp Workers should be given assurance by the authorities for their future living and safety for their wives and family.

12. That deliver of the letter to Japanese Camp have been too slow and requested to be improved. (26)

15.

Work Camp B-21,
Pyramid, B.C.,
April 8th, 1943.

THE YELLOWHEAD-BLUE RIVER HIGHWAY PROJECT

W.S.Brereton,Esquire,
Head Accountant,
BLUE RIVER, B.C.

Dear Sir: Attention Mr. Corning

We, the forty-three Japanese Nationals of Camp B.21 at Pyramid, herein signed, are uniformly together in asking to have your fullest considerations regarding a matter of removing our Camp Foreman, Mr. James Stuart.(sic)

For the past whole year, we had been working in camps in all directions along this project. Nevertheless we did not come across any foreman like Mr. Stuart,(sic) who handles the boys with such an incapable ways. Some of his faults, if we are to mention which aroused us to bring about this, are:

1.His language or words and his attitude or manner in which he tries to use us. It offends us a great deal. He seems to have an impression that he must stick to the order he received and practically, everytime we suggest anything which we know is of value, he tells us, "This is Mr. Corning's order." He does not use his own judgement at all, whatsoever.

2.His means of handling Japanese very unfairly. For instance, at the time of building a log house for the Blacksmith shop, there were four men, each taking one corner in fitting the logs. They were doing exactly the same work but we found out later that two of them were paid thirty cents an hour and the other two twenty-five cents an hour. Same cases happened in many different occasions. Money is not what we are getting after but it is the feelings amongst our Japanese, when we get such an unfair treatment like these.

3.His unsatisfactory means of handling any accident cases. One time, Shigeru Hayashi had a bad cut in his leg with an axe. Though he was sent to Red Pass and received a treatment it was after we all asked the foreman to send him there. He said, when the accident occurred, "He will be all right, if we just get a bandage around it and take a rest." Hayashi had four stitches from a doctor at Red Pass. This experience still keeps fresh in our

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minds and we feel very uneasy for the future when we may have more serious accidents.

"#1. -Mr. Stewart had definite instructions in this case, which did not conform to the Japanese ideas. He did as he was told by me."

"#2. -This involved two days work, which would have meant 10 cents more on change of rate."

"#3. -We have found Stewart very considerate in the care of his men, in feeding, housing and nursing."

#:Remarks by Mr.Corning.

There are many other things besides these but things we have just mentioned will, I know, be sufficient for you to understand.

It is the presence of him; who always impair our feelings towards making camp life peace and harmonious. As we do not know how long this war will last, we wish to get along ourselves in our camp with more ease and more smiles, and herein lies our fundamental reason in asking for his removal.

We ask you, therefore, to get us a new foreman; who has an ability to manage our camp to run harmoniously, and who comprehends our situation well. As you know, we were forced to come up here. We suggest, if it may be of any help, Mr. Mike Frye or Mr. McDougal. They were both understandable and very reasonable to us.

- ("Frye is entirely unfit as a foreman. McDougall is at Lempriere.") Remarks by Mr.Corning.

Lastly, we wish to inform you clearly that unless he be moved out altogether from our camp and till we have a new foreman, who understands our situation and who is willing to cooperate in running the camp smoothly; we will not be going out to work. We will suspend our work commencing April 15th till we hear favourably from you.

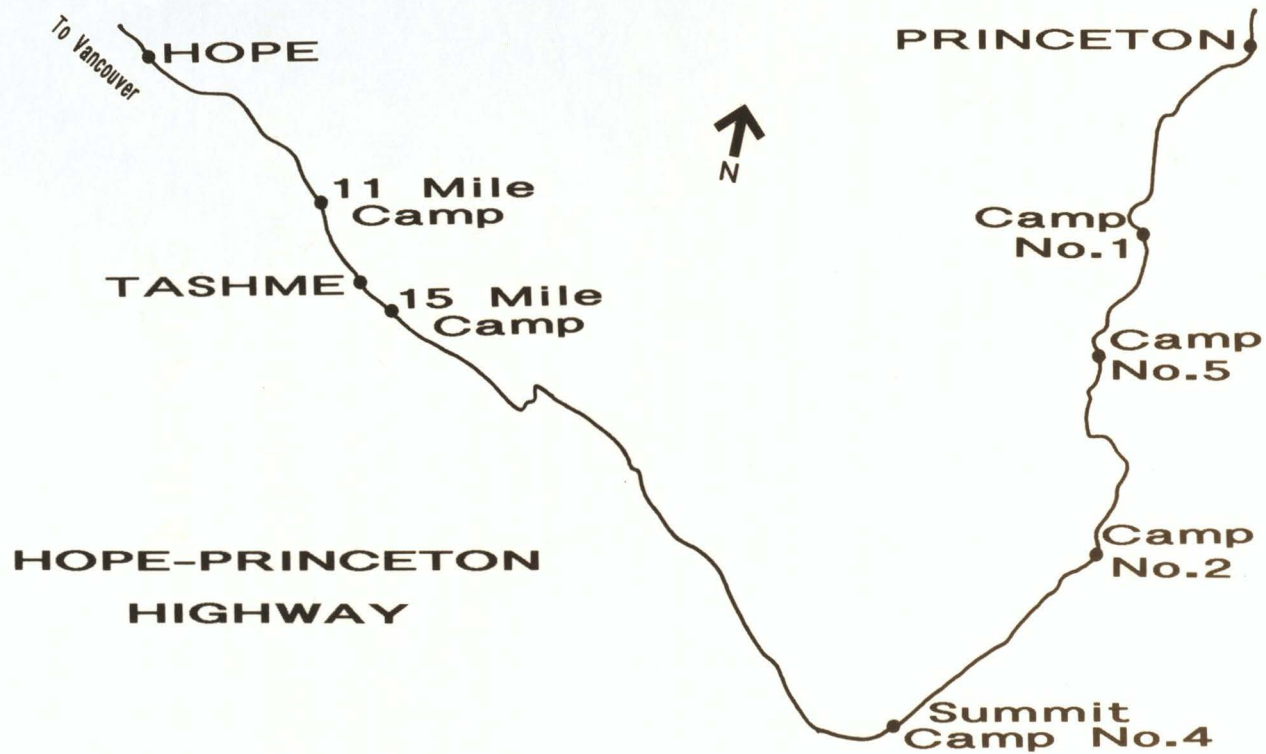
Please, therefore, reply to this matter at once.

Yours respectfully,
Japanese signed herein.

("Stewart is not to be dismissed nor changed." R.M.C.)

CHAPTER 4

THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT



THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

The Hope-Princeton (H-P) Highway was high on the list of the roads in British Columbia to which the BC politicians were anxious to have the Dominion Government assign Japanese labour. On February 9th, 1942, Ian Mackenzie listed it as #3 on his list to MacNamara. G. Cruickshank, the MP for Fraser Valley, was advocating it on February 16th, as an alternate route to the Trans-Canada in case of sabotage to air transportation, or to the railroads. On the 19th, Arthur Dixon, the Deputy Minister of Public Works for British Columbia, told Wardle that it was #1 on his list of preferred highway projects. On the 21st, MacNamara was asking Wardle if it might be considered as a project for the proposed Canadian Japanese Construction Corps. Unused National Defence camps were located along the highway, and Wardle was asked to investigate them and make them habitable. (9)

In common with the Y-BR project, the spectre of sabotage loomed in the minds of men, and on February 21st, A.S.Baillie, V.P. and G.M., Granby Consolidated Mining Smelting and Power Company, Copper Mountain, B.C. wrote to Mr. A. Campbell, President, Copper Mountain Branch of the Liberal Association: *"Referring to our conversation of this afternoon in the matter of using Japanese labor on the Hope-Princeton highway, this company would not take exception to such a project provided that we had adequate assurance that the Japanese would be adequately guarded and the danger of them becoming a menace to our plants in this district eliminated."*

However we would oppose the establishment of a Japanese work camp in the immediate vicinity of Copper Mountain or Allenby, but it is our understanding that the nearest work camp on the Hope-Princeton highway where the Japanese may be housed is at Copper Creek, and as stated above, if adequate armed guards are maintained to prevent their escape at Copper Creek and wherever the Japanese are engaged on the highway, we would not take exception to their employment on the Hope-Princeton project.

Naturally we assume that adequate precautions against pollution of the Similkameen River from which the entire supply of water is taken for the communities of Allenby and Copper

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Mountain, and against danger from forest fires, will be maintained". (9)

Wardle replied to MacNamara on the 24th, pointing out that Hope was on the eastern limit of the protected area, but that work would begin 20 miles east of Hope so that should not be a problem. He thought that the H-P project would be more suited to the use of Japanese Nationals because it did not parallel a main railway line. Wardle thought the project could absorb 800 to 1,000 men, but not before April 15th, because of snow conditions. He thought that the Revelstoke-Sicamous Highway among others would be suitable for the Construction Corps and could absorb 1,000 men or more. MacNamara replied to Wardle on the 26th authorizing work to begin as soon as possible in getting the camps ready to accommodate men. He expressed his concern with the late construction start date of April 15th. (9)

On the 25th of February, J.W.Southin, P.Eng., the President of the Princeton Board of Trade and an employee of Granby Consolidated Mining Smelting and Power Company, inspected the three camps on the Hope-Princeton Highway. He reported to the Provincial Government that he found Camp 406 in such good physical condition that 115 men could walk in there at once with blankets and mattresses. In this camp, the buildings were sound, weather-proof, stoves and utensils in place, windows and doors intact, water pipes frozen but they could be thawed out and repaired in 24 hours, electric wire for lighting was O.K. but the lighting plant was missing, however, a temporary plant for lighting could be installed within 48 hours.

He found that in camps 410 and 411 the buildings were in good physical condition, windows and doors which had been removed for safe-keeping would have to be installed. The windows and doors were in storage in Princeton. Stoves, utensils, beds, mattresses would have to be provided, also portable lighting plants. He estimated that all three camps would accommodate approximately 250 men and could be made comfortably habitable inside of 10 days if a real effort was made. (9)

THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

With this information at hand, R.W.Bruhn, Minister of Public Works for B.C., wired Wardle with the particulars. He also indicated that the Province could erect one or two camps at the Hope end, on short notice. On the 26th, Wardle advised MacNamara that he would be wiring Bruhn to get two 100-man camps ready at the Hope end. They would be built to Dominion standards and meet the Public Works Health Act. Wardle suggested that Mitchell: *"give formal approval to the H-P project as one to be undertaken, under Dominion supervision, with Japanese Nationals"*. (9)

By the 2nd of March, Wardle wrote to MacNamara, and advised him that Walker, the Supervising Engineer at Banff, thought that 100 men could be taken into camp that week. Wardle also told MacNamara that he would wire the Provincial Public Works Department at Victoria and ask when they believed the earliest date would be for receiving the first 100 men and whether the weather would allow them to work. (9)

On the 5th, MacNamara wrote to Commissioner Wood, letting him know that probably 100 men would be sent Saturday, the 7th of March, to the H-P project. He suggested that there would need to be arrangements made for a detachment to be assigned to this project. (9)

On the same day, MacNamara wired J.H.McVety, Regional Superintendent U.I.C., in Vancouver: *"In reference to the Hope-Princeton project arrange for an additional fifty men to leave Vancouver Wednesday night March 11 via Canadian Pacific Railway Kettle Valley line to get off at Princeton. One cook, one to act as interpreter, six builders, fifteen axe men, twenty six labourers, one to look after supplies. This is in addition to the fifty authorized to be shipped to Princeton Saturday night"*. (9)

The problems with the NMEG, made it difficult for McVety in getting the men as asked and he wired MacNamara that he could only get 26 men. MacNamara told McVety that he could send the 74 missing men along with the other 100 on Friday night, the 13th. (9)

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By the 4th of March, the BCSC had been formed, and on the 11th, MacNamara wired Taylor that there was accommodation for 100 men on the H-P project. He also told Taylor that he was trying to make arrangements with the C.P.R. to provide some work cars which would allow the Department to make a start on the Trans Canada Highway between Revelstoke and Sicamous. MacNamara thought it was advisable to adopt this approach to avoid the delay in building camps. The men could build the camps when they were in the work cars. (9)

Finally, on March 13th, Wardle wrote to MacNamara that 100 Japanese had left Vancouver on Thursday night for Princeton. In addition, the Hope end of the project could take the following: 15 men to leave Vancouver Monday March 16, which needed to include a cook and kitchen staff, 35 to leave on Wednesday March 18 and 50 to leave on Saturday March 21. (9)

On the 24th of March, J.N.Stinson, Chief Engineer, wrote a memo to Wardle on the various road projects, and told him that Walker had just returned from a trip to the H-P project. Walker reported that the project had a total length of about 88 miles. He was able to get 25 miles from Princeton to Hope, but was stopped from getting further by four feet of snow. At the Hope end, he was able to travel only 11 to 12 miles when he encountered 2 1/2 feet of snow. At the Princeton end there were 101 men in the camp, with room for another 100 men within two or three days or when the necessary camp supplies were obtained. When this total of 200 men was reached, no more could be taken in for at least eight to 10 days. At the Hope end, there were only 15 men in camp with two separate groups of 15 and 35 men due to arrive shortly. With the arrival of these men, it would be two weeks before more could be accommodated. (10)

Between March 24th above and May 16th following, there was no official correspondence in the files to indicate anything of importance had occurred, however on May 16th, "The N.C." printed a story from a camp correspondence about a man who had gone missing.

THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

"The N.C." May 16th, *"Missing Man Found"*

Princeton, B.C. - After searching for several hours on the mountains and in the deep brush near the road camp at Princeton, a party of men found S.N., who had been missing since early morning, unconscious in a clump of bushes.

N. was missing at breakfast time, and immediately the entire crew of 103, split up into parties of seven, launched an intensive search for him.

It was believed that he was temporarily deranged, because of his worrying over the present situation. He told friends that he had tried to hang himself three times but had failed each time.

The unfortunate man was sent to Vancouver under R.C.M.P. escort".

"The N.C." June 6th,
*"Concert Brings New Life to Lonely Men in Princeton
Camp by U.T.*

Princeton, No.2 Camp - In order to promote harmony and understanding among the men, and to maintain relations with the officials here, a camp committee has been set up here.

Headed by Zenbei Soga, the committee includes Sasaki ... , Takeo Watanabe, Kohei Nishiyama, Tokichi Nakamura, Tobei Yanai, Harunobu Azuma and Utaro Toshimoto.

On May 27 a meeting was held to hear the report on the formation of the committee, and following the meeting a concert was held in the mess hall.

Guests of honor included Charles Harrison, camp superintendent and Mr. and Mrs. Goldsmith.

The concert opened with an address by Zenbei Soga, committee chairman. Self introductions were then made in the dialects of each man's birthplace, and a program of more than 30 items was presented. Tobei Yanai was the capable master of ceremonies.

Although every artist put on an excellent performance, winning loud applause from the audience, Messers. Watanabe and Koyama's 'yasuki-bushi' [Yasuki(a place name) melody] and Mr.

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Nogami's 'dojo-sukui' (folk dance emulating the scooping-up of eels) were particularly well received. Another feature of the afternoon was the Japanese dance, 'Junrei Odori' (pilgrim dance) by Messrs. Tanaka and Fukumoto attired in the Japanese 'nagajuban' (long undergarment) costume. Mr. Dick Night who is one of the guards here sang a solo and received a great ovation.

The concert served to sweep away the gloom and monotony of the camp, and brought new life to the old men's group in this camp.

During intervals in the program the report on the camp committee was presented, and speeches were made by Mr. Soga and Mr. Nakamura."

"The N.C." June 10, - "by T.Y.

Princeton, No.2 Camp - Work on this section of the Hope - Princeton highway is going ahead gradually by our crew of sixty comparatively old men in this camp. The road itself is 24 - 26 feet in width.

Part of our work requires a gang to climb sandstones several hundred feet high by means of ropes, and drop 5 to 8 ton rocks into the rapids of the river below. The terrific noise caused by the rocks makes one think a hundred thunderbolts had struck all at once.

Another crew is hard at work on a section facing a crumbled sand-dune more than 300 feet high.

Since all of us take good care of our health, so far we have had no accidents or illness. Members of the camp committee too are doing their utmost for the common welfare of all the men in the camp so life here is proceeding very smoothly.

Some of the men have made a miniature garden, while some others have found an interest in collecting plants and shrubs. These scenes evoke gratified smiles on the faces of the officials here".

"The N.C." June 17, "Co-op Store at Hope Camp.

THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

A camp store organized along co-operative lines was opened at the Hope Work Camp June 1, with the permission of the authorities, to handle the articles of daily use needed by the men. Each man has become a shareholder by investing five dollars, and profit from the enterprise will be used for welfare purposes.

A report from the camp states that they have now spent seventy days at 11 mile camp near Hope, and since they are isolated, they appreciate the work of The New Canadian, particularly for its news on the evacuation.

The camp is located on a 2000 feet plateau which gives them an abundance of good scenery. There are two bunkhouses holding 54 men each, a mess-house, and an office. The men have good washing and bathing facilities, which rank better than Powell Street's famous 'Nishikiyu' (name of a public bath on Powell St. in Vancouver.)

In their spare time the men read papers, write letters and listen to the radio, but ten o'clock lights out seem to come too soon, the report states."

For some unknown reason, the H-P project received a disproportionate number of physically unfit men. Because of some criticism which had been raised on the lack of progress with the project, Wardle wrote to MacNamara on June 20th, saying in part: "... When the movement of the Japanese from the coast was in the acute phase, no question was raised by our officers in regard to the number of physically unfit men that were being sent to the highway construction camps. Recently this question was raised by one of our engineers, and it appears to be particularly acute in the case of the Hope-Princeton project". Wardle submitted a list of 27 physically unfit men ranging in age from 39 - 71 years in age. Wardle wanted to have the BCSC give the list of men some consideration. (9) (see Appendix Chapter 4, 1., for list)

"The N.C." June 20,

"Letters to the Editor

11 Mile Camp, Hope, B.C.

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Dear Sir:

A social, the first of its kind was held here on May 24 in order to bring back fun and laughter to our camp. Some of the highlights on the program were a sword dance performed by a man wearing 'donguri' pants (heavy water proof work pants) and a stick representing the sword, an odori (Japanese dance) danced in khaki pants and 'neisan-kaburi' (woman's head covering) and an imitation of Hindus by men with shaggy beards who donned turbans and wore bathrobes with one shoulder bared.

The men also agreed to hold an oratorical meeting each month to give the young men here an opportunity to practice public speaking. The first meeting was held on June 14.

Y. Yamaga."

MacNamara wrote to Taylor on June 22nd, replying to Wardle's complaint on the physically unfit men in camp. He said in part: "... it would appear evident that some of them should not have been sent and some other disposition of them should be made. In regard to those who are able to do light work, I would not worry particularly about them, in fact, I would leave them where they are". (Author's note: the report showed that one man had been operated on for TB of the kidney and his remaining kidney was also affected. The doctor believed the man could be taken seriously ill at any time and the camp was 43 miles from a doctor and 11 miles from a phone. Another man had diabetes and according to the doctor's report was quite serious. He had not taken insulin for 2 months and an individual diet could not be given him because of camp conditions. Another man had only one arm, another had a severe asthmatic condition.) (9)

With the decision made to reunite the married men with their families, and the H-P highway away from the railway main lines, Taylor wrote to MacNamara on July 2nd that the Commission had made the decision to rent the A.B.Trites farm 15 miles outside of Hope on the H-P highway for \$500 per month. The Commission proposed to build 200 homes for families of men working on the road, with the men visiting their families periodically. As it turned

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out, a small town, which would be called Tashme, was eventually built. It would house 2,624 people at its peak. (9)

"The N.C." July 8th,

"From Evacuees Across Canada

Manpower Shaping Princeton Road

Our friend M.O. relates from Princeton Camp No.1 that the road upon which they have labored since Spring is beginning to take the shape of a highway:

'The season in which alpine plants and shrubs are in their prime, and the gentians blooming in full glory, has come now to our camp now in the midst of this mountainous country, 193 miles from Vancouver.

The men in this camp are all well and still engaged in road construction work. Today after working for forty-five days beginning May 6, the new road which we are building, just above our camp, is gradually being fashioned and shaped.

After observing the results of our work, accomplished only with the aid of shovels, mattocks and picks, we can not but be amazed by the results of manpower.

Previously we were employed in enlarging and repairing an old road about 2 1/2 miles long, work completed early in May."

With the operating conditions changing because of the pending removal of the married men from the Y-BR project, Wardle wrote to MacNamara on July 14th, saying in part:

"...(a) Under the original proposal of 1,400 Japanese on this project we had some hope of putting through a passable road only, by late in the coming Fall. However, this is now impossible no matter how many men would be available for the balance of the season, and I would now estimate the project cannot be completed before the end of 1943. This estimate is of course subject to the number of men that may be available and how they work.

(b) Owing to the heavy snowfall, this project does not offer much winter work. None is available on the Hope end ... There

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may be a little early winter work on the Princeton end where the precipitation is less.

(c) This project requires a fair amount of heavy equipment for any substantial progress and we are prepared to try and obtain this just as soon as there seems some stability in the number of Japanese that would be available for work". (9)

With the prospect of more than 1,000 married men coming back to their families and increasing the need for much more housing than the Commission had anticipated, Taylor wired MacNamara on July 15th that he and Bruhn, the Provincial Minister of Public Works, were recommending that as much Japanese labour as economically possible be allocated to the H-P Highway and the Cariboo Highway from Clinton to Prince George. Their belief was that on the Cariboo Highway the Commission could build small groups of houses on mostly Government owned land that would permit re-uniting of those families whose husbands were capable of road work construction. The Cariboo Highway had been designated as a Military Highway and both Taylor and Bruhn thought that it could be put in good condition in a minimum amount of time and in an economical fashion with respect to supervision and the building of housing. The road was open the year round, so transportation would not be a problem. Taylor ended the wire with: "*Your serious consideration and I hope approval is requested*". The Cariboo proposal was never considered. (9)

"The N.C." July 15th,

"Road Camps Mark Dominion's Birthday

Social at Princeton

by M.O.

PRINCETON - Ten-odd bouts were held here on the Dominion Day holiday in a morning 'sumo tournament', refereed by Mr. Torizo Yamashita. Defeating three men Mr. Yoshikawa was proclaimed the winner of the whole contest.

...

Highlight of the day's program, however, was the social which took place in the large mess hall at 7 o'clock in the evening.

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Opening with a speech by Mr. Mitsuo Yokome, enjoyable entertainment was contributed by various artists in a program which included popular songs, harmonica solos, 'shakuhachi' and violin solos and 'naniwa-bushi' (story sung by a minstrel, accompanied by a shamisen, a stringed instrument placed on the floor, played like a guitar).

Officials of the camp also attended the very successful social, and the men in the camp have expressed the wish that a similar affair be held once each month.

All in all, Dominion Day was a very enjoyable day, with more than eighty Occidentals taking part in the program."

On July 20th, Taylor wrote to MacNamara to let him know that the Commission expected to quickly supply Mines and Resources with 250-350 Japanese labourers for the west end of the road. He also replied to MacNamara's earlier question about justifying \$500. per month for Trites farm. Taylor said that it was the only available piece of land on the H-P highway and rental at about 75¢ per acre per month with the use of buildings costing in the neighborhood of \$150,000.-\$200,000. made it a reasonable price. In any event, Trites originally wanted \$7,000 per year. (9)

Schwartz, the Spanish Consul and Maag, the International Red Cross Representative visited some of the camps along the H-P Highway, and were presented with three petitions, two dated July 17th, 1942, and one undated. Kaizo Tsuyuki represented the Japanese Nationals living at Camp No. 14, near Hope. Some of the issues raised in their petition were:

- 1) The inadequacy of the money they were earning from their work to cover living expenses in the camps. This raised a concern for the purchase of food for the families expected in the new settlement.
- 2) Tied in with the lack of money was the inability to keep properly clothed for the work and weather.
- 3) They raised a concern for the accommodation of many families in two or three of the large barns on the Trite Farm.

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- 4) There was a request for the provision of electricity.
- 5) First aid men were required.
- 6) The need for adequate medical facilities and personnel in the new settlement. (24) (See Appendix Chapter 4, 2., for complete text of the petitions.)

The H-P Highway was being built in an area where winter snow conditions were generally severe, so it was decided that the married men from the Tashme settlement would be used to keep the road between Tashme and Hope open. On the 21st Wardle wrote to MacNamara telling him that it was the Department's intention to use the single men available on this project in the advance camps in the hope that some sort of a road connection might be made by year's end between the Hope and Princeton ends of the project. The road between Tashme and Hope would be maintained and improved to the extent necessary by the use of married men living in Tashme. It was also the hope of the Department that the construction of the H-P Highway in the vicinity of the Tashme settlement would also be undertaken by the married men. (9)

"The N.C." July 22nd,

*"Princeton Men Doing First Class Job of Road-Building
Says Paper*

PRINCETON - Tribute to the efficiency and good workmanship of the Japanese evacuees now engaged in construction and improvement of the Princeton end of the Hope-Princeton highway was paid by the Similkameen Star in its issue of July 16. Replying to coast press reports on the progress of the work and the task yet to be done before completion of the highway, the Star said that the local men 'well acquainted with the road and surrounding country' estimated the unfinished distance was between 11 and 12 miles.

'At the present W.H.Snelson, engineer in charge, is concentrating his efforts on widening and improving the completed section of the highway,' at the Princeton end, the Star said.

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Gracefully Curving Highway

At First Camp, about three miles above the Nine-Mile bridge, more than a mile of twisting road is being replaced with a gracefully curving section of eight per cent grade that will rival any highway in the Province. Near Copper Creek where the second camp is established most of the effort is being put in widening the road. The arrival of two power shovels and two bull dozers recently has speeded up the tempo of construction tremendously.

Prior to the arrival of the mechanical equipment all work was being done by hand and it is a tribute to the enthusiasm and efficiency of the Japanese at these two camps that they accomplished so much. A casual walk up the new stretch of road around First Camp is a lesson in what man can do with a few tools. Hillsides have been cut down, fills made, rocks blasted, and heavy log culverts over 100 feet long constructed by hand.

'The men on this job are the best in any of the camps in the province,' declared Engineer Snelson. 'They are all good workers and cause no trouble.' Every official interviewed expressed satisfaction with the attitude of the Japanese under their direction.

That the Japs have taken to their new life well is seen in the care they have taken of their new homes. The camps are spotlessly neat. The gardens, most of them hewn out of the wilderness, would put many a farmer to shame. Green vegetables of many descriptions are flourishing along every second or third building.

Skilled Workers

Practically one hundred per cent of the Japanese in the local camp are skilled workers. A large number were loggers. Mining was new to most of them, but already several crews have picked up the way of the sledge and drill. Carpenter shops have been opened up and trained men are turning out objects useful both in camp and on the job.

There are now around 160 Japanese stationed at this end of the road. Whether others will join them depends on the decision of the B.C. Security Commission and Ottawa. Chief complaint of those already located here is separation from their families, but for the

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most part they are taking it philosophically as one of the misfortunes of war."

The first group of men to return to their families from the road camps were sent to Hope, and I. Hamade a road camp correspondent reported their arrival to "The N.C.".

"The N.C." August the 1st,

*"First Group Of Nationals Back From Road Camps Go To
Slocan Valley by I. Hamade*

Hope, B.C. - Over 150 nationals from the first three road camps shut down last Tuesday, Geiki, Decoigne and Yellowhead arrived in Hope Wednesday morning on the Canadian National trans-continental. All but five, three of whom were transferred to the 14 mile ranch, and two for Hastings Park for medical care, left Wednesday night for Slocan.

Excited by the prospect of leaving the wilderness camp which had been our home for the past five months, the 60-odd men at Geiki camp were up and about at 4:40 a.m. Tuesday morning to complete packing and have breakfast at 6. At 7, 150 pieces of baggage were hauled to the station, and later the men were escorted to the station by special constables.

...

At Decoigne the train picked up about 50 more men, and at Yellowhead an additional 60.

At Albreda the three coaches were hooked up to the trans-continental at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived in Hope twenty-four hours later, from where the majority left for Slocan via the C.P. Kettle Valley line."

"The N.C." Aug. 12th,

"By M. Ota (delayed by postal Censor)

Princeton, B.C. - Headed by Yutomori Setoguchi, thirty men moved from No. 1 camp here to No. 3, thirty miles south, at the end of July. They are now engaged in setting up tent-houses at No. 4 camp, work which is expected to be completed at the end of this week.

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The four camps at the Princeton end of the Princeton-Hope road, it is understood, will be manned during the winter by single men, most of whom will be brought in from camps further north.

In the meantime, No.1 has been reduced to thirty single men, and an atmosphere of calm and quiet prevails. At night, especially, we no longer listen to the married men talking in their sleep about their wives. But one does feel somewhat lonely, for the total number here has been declining gradually from 102 down to a mere 30.

However, everyone is anticipating a new group of boisterous, carefree, single men who will bring life to this camp.

By Hasujiro Ejima

Princeton, B.C. - Following the closing of camps at Red Pass, Yellowhead and Rainbow, some 44 single men have been transferred to No.1 camp at Princeton. The number of men here now totals more than 60.

When the camps up north were closed on July 28, the men were first taken to the Hope Clearing Station, from where 25 of us were sent to the 14-Mile Ranch near Hope, and the rest to the Slocan Valley.

At that time there were about 200 men busily engaged in constructing houses at the 14-Mile Ranch. But after working four days, those of us not married were ordered to move to our present site at Princeton.

Facilities here at Princeton No.1 are much better than our former camp on the C.N.R. mainline, and the work of road construction is not as difficult as we had been led to believe.

To us who were transferred from the north, the weather seems especially warm, but we feel that life at this camp will be much brighter and more fun since the men are all single and have less worries than the married men."

"The N.C." Aug. 19th,

"Princeton Camps Steadily Filling By M.O.

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Princeton, No.1 Camp. - Accommodations here are rapidly being filled up with the steady arrivals of men from northern road camps.

On August 2 a party of 31 men, led by Messrs. Mayehara and Sugaya arrived here from Lucerne and was sent to Princeton No.4 Camp. On the following two days, two more groups arrived here among the men being Shosaku Hayashi and Toshimoto Watanabe.

August 5 saw another party of 33 from Red Pass and Yellowhead added to the complement of No.1. Sei Nagami and Hatsujiro Ejima were included in this last group.

Arriving here on August 7, a group of 53 from Rainbow, which included Masao Takaoka, was ordered to No.2 Camp as were the next two groups of 9 and 13 from Tete Jaune, which reached this camp on the succeeding two days. Among the latest arrivals was Hidetaro Nishi.

On the other hand, all the married men, in No.1 and No.2 Camps have departed to the Hope District, their transfer being completed by August 5.

It is believed that more single men will be sent here and in addition to the four camps already in operation, another camp No. 5 will be opened to provide accommodation."

"The N.C." September the 5th,

"From the Camps

Men Still Taking Lonely Life in Stride Fusazo Kawaguchi

Princeton. - Our party of 58 men which left the 'Flower Metropolis' of Tete Jaune on August 5, was first transferred to Hope. After a night there, 30 of us were ordered to New Denver, 20 to 14 Mile Ranch, and 8 to Princeton.

This last named town is a small centre about 170 miles from Vancouver and is sustained by copper and coal mines operating in the district.

The men in our camp are now at work building tent-houses for No.5 camp where we will be transferred. The canvas is now being set up with double folds to meet the chill of winter. Once

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settled in No.5 camp, the crew will go back to road work on the Hope-Princeton section.

Both the spirited and vigorous young fellows, and the older men here find the camp here wearisome and lonely. There are restrictions against going to town, and an absolute lack of recreational facilities. Among inconveniences, too, is the fact of there being no bath at all available.

Nevertheless we are trying to keep up our spirits and sense of humor to make camp life as pleasant as possible.

A 'haiku' circle was held recently at No.3 camp, with 'Suzushisa' or 'Coolness' as the theme. Among the haiku composed by our poets were these in romaji.

*'Kiwo kirite kito suzushigeni
(After cutting the tree I rest
ikoi - kerī'
feeling cool with the tree)* - Hagetsu

*'Ureshisani ikite noten - no
(I am glad to be alive
furo suzushi'
taking a cool outdoor bath)* - Tansui

*'Suiei - ni tatsu suzushisaya
(This morning I would like to swim
asagokoro'
to be cooled off)* - Seisan"

"The N.C." Oct.29th,
"Public Forum

New Can. Esq.,
Editor Mr. Shoyama.

Dear Sir,

Have received your valuable paper in today's mail. Our member of camp were very much appreciated that pleasure of read long waiting news of home Vancouver where we left before 23rd of March. As you know some of our members were very much worried about family who left behind and some were afraid what

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might become our future, beside as you understand mostly our members old age First Generation and can't read English. Even Province and Sun some in every day there are no news for them. Fortunately we will have long wave radio next week, but they want read some Japanese language news very badly.

Thank Heaven today we find your paper today. They are very much pleased for long waiting wells of desert. Soon after donation start and here I enclose \$5 by money order, if you can use for the mail for help run your paper then were pleased.

Kindly mail us 10 sheets of every issue. Our members of Camp are 50 peoples. This much will be satisfied their wish, and definitely addressed to 'J Bunkhouse No. 2, Hope B.C.'

Today your paper come in first time, but we have read it with thanks hereafter like Beacon light of stormy sea.

Hope your continuation of paper forever and with your prosperous future behalf of Japanese nationals who evacuate from our second birthplace, Vancouver.

Thank you

Yours truly

Bunkhouse No.2

Hope B.C.

(Ed. note - To our correspondent at No.2 Bunkhouse, at Hope, we are sending a personal letter of thanks to the men of that camp. The \$5.00 received will be donated to assist in the welfare and relief work of the Japanese Canadian Citizens Council with the approval of the men.)"

1943 - - - the beginning of the 2nd year of the H-P Highway Project, and unlike the Y-BR Highway Project, very few morale problems were being experienced. With the hope of maintaining morale in the camps, the authorities approved the principle of leaves, from the camps, to visit families and friends in the Interior Settlements. This request had originated with the men in the Yard Creek Camp on the Revelstoke-Sicamous Highway Project. The leaves were initially asked for during the Christmas-New Year's period, but they were approved and scheduled to begin in January.

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"The N.C." January 16th,

"Older Men in Princeton Camps Take Swiftly or Shakily to Skates"

Camp 1 Princeton, B.C. - A new camp management system was adopted at a general meeting held in the camp mess-room on New Year's Day with Mr. Yokome presiding.

...

Mr. Yokome reported that he had been informed that those who wished to visit their families and friends after the New Year would be granted leave on application to the authorities. He also stated that the men in the camp, might, upon marriage, secure employment outside of B.C. through the Security Commission.

* * * *

One of the problems that face the young men of 20 to 30 years of age, is to find an outlet for their energy. In summer, baseball provides recreation, but when the extreme cold sets in, they have very little to do. However, these young men recently solved the problem by building a skating rink on the ball ground, sprinkling water over the entire surface.

The older men find skating very hard to master, but the young men are deriving much enjoyment from this winter sport. Haruo Murata seems to be the ace skater of the lot, followed by his older brother, Gisuke, and George Funamoto.

...

Among the beginners are Hatsujiro Ejima, who is already showing signs of becoming an excellent skater, and Hideo Tsuji and Kanshiro Teramura, not quite so adept. The sight of the latter two tottering along on shaky knees give much amusement to the spectators.

Skating has indeed become very popular in our camp, with nearly thirty men participating in the sport."

"The N.C." January 23rd,

"Leaves from National Camps at Princeton Now Under Way"

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Princeton, B.C. - Leaves for the men in the three national camps operating on the Hope-Princeton highway are now being issued with about twenty men leaving from the three camps at one time. These men are visiting friends or relatives in Tashme, Slocan, and other interior housing towns.

* * * *

The first general meeting of the No.1 camp in the New Year was held in the mess-hall. Representatives to attend discussions in Tashme with the International Red Cross representative, Ernest Maag, from Montreal, were chosen, and included Mitsuo Yokome from No.1, Jugoro Fukabori, Copper Creek and Yoshiji Sugaya, Friday Creek.

* * * *

No.2 camp held a New Year's social in the big mess hall on January 15th. In a hall gaily decorated with a professional touch, the entertainers who had practised diligently for weeks, presented a most enjoyable program.

Ceremony marked the opening of the concert which included some thirty camp members in singing, humorous acts, nani-wa bushi, skits and Japanese dancing.

On the following day a meeting was called ... "

"The N.C." January 30th,

"Princeton Men Will Help Each Other Find Wives

Princeton - Discussion on the marriage problem featured a recent meeting at Friday Creek, Princeton Camp No.5, when agreement was reached that every assistance would be given by the camp to young men who were interested in matrimony.

'We do not know when the war will be over,' declared T.Maehara during the discussion. 'Thus the marriage problem for the young men in the camp is very difficult and it is up to all of us to help in every way.'

It is planned to cultivate contacts with parents of young women and to arrange for the exchange of letters wherever possible to bring young men and young women together.

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A recommendation by S.Kotaro that the authorities give permission to single men to visit the housing centres to meet prospective brides was referred to the camp committee.

* * * *

The following camp members are continuing to function as the committee: Y.Sugaya, chairman, T.Maehara, T.Kawaguchi, Y.Maruishi, and T.Watanabe.

Brief Bits ... A social was held at New Years, to which all our white friends were invited. ... A Haiku Club meets every Saturday to compose on topics such as 'nightfall', 'the withering tree', 'the first snow' ... Number of the men are leaving for two weeks visit to friends and relatives."

"The N.C." February 13th,

"Letters to the Editor Everything Seemed Cold

The men in the three Princeton camps celebrated a lonely New Year's Day. We did not have a drop of 'omiki' (sake toast), no decorative 'omochi' (a rice based delicacy made from steamed rice which is pounded and kneaded in a wooden receptacle, to a paste-like consistency with wooden mallets swung like sledge hammers), no femininity, no color - only the 'kado matsu' (small pine trees or pine boughs used to frame a doorway), a camp full of men, and the wilderness around, empty of human life. At no time have we felt so much the loneliness of our life separated from the ordinary world.

* * * *

Our cold spell began in the middle of January when the thermometer dropped to 11 below. Next day it dropped further to 31 degrees. The window froze; the moisture began to drip on the walls. It was cold even while the big stove burned furiously. It is a wonder we were able to stand it in the single walled frame structure which had been built without thought for such weather.

In reflecting back to this and recalling the details, everything seemed cold at that time. Our body and our soul, even the brilliant sparkling of the stars and the clear outline of the moon added to our complete coldness.

*M.Ota,
Camp No.1, Princeton, B.C."*

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Maag, the Canadian Representative of the International Red Cross, issued a report on Feb. 19th, 1943 on conditions in the Interior Settlements and the H-P Camps. He interviewed a representative from Camp No. 1, (known as "Red Buck") Mitsuo YOKOME, Camp No. 2, ("Copper Creek") Jugoro FUKABORI and Camp No. 3, ("Princeton") Yoshiharu SUGAYA. The representatives told Maag that the men were satisfied with their treatment. However, they expressed a number of concerns and complaints; the imminent lack of rice, no electricity or radio, loneliness in the camps, the scarcity of recreational activities and the inadequacy of the pay scale. (33) (See Appendix Chapter 4, 3., for complete text of the three petitions)

"The N.C." February 20th,

"Early Completion of Hope-Princeton Highway Foreseen

Victoria.- An agreement with federal authorities which may result in early completion of the long-sought Hope-Princeton highway was foreshadowed by W.A.C. Bennett (Coalition, S.Okanagan) during debate in the legislature last week.

'We should see completion of a first class highway soon from Hope to Princeton,' said Mr. Bennett, 'I hope the Minister of Public Works will be able to give us a report soon.'

At present, Japanese evacuees from the coastal defence area are working on the highway, but progress has been delayed due to shortage of heavy road-making equipment.

Good progress has been made from one end, but there is some criticism at the other end, Bennett said.

(At the Hope end of the road about ninety men in two camps, 11 mile and 14 mile are now engaged in the work. At the Princeton end there are two hundred men, distributed among five base and advance camps. Winter conditions have slowed up work considerably, but the return of spring is expected to see considerable progress achieved.

Princeton papers have paid enthusiastic tribute to the work done by the evacuees.)"

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"The N.C." March 13th,

"Our Camp Life

Mitsuo Ota

No.1 Camp, Princeton, B.C. - I came to this mountain-walled road camp one year ago on March 13th. The time has passed quickly, a fact that I cannot appreciate, and now another March 13th has rolled around.

The first group that came from Port Alberni to Vancouver numbered 27 persons of which I was one. They all scattered and the few to come to this camp were Hideo Tsuji, Jinzaemon Mukuda, Seiki Nozaki, Yoshigoro Naka and Yasaku Morishita. Later Mukuda and Nozaki were transferred to Popoff, and Mukuda was sent to Hastings Park Hospital and later to the Internment Camp. The remaining three are still in this Princeton camp. The camp was composed of new-made friends and friends of long acquaintance. At least fifty percent of the names of the men in the camp were familiar to the three from Port Alberni. There were many who met a friend for the first time in ten years, in fifteen years, in twenty years. Tears were spilt as friends met unexpected friends in an unexpected place in an unexpected time such as it was.

Abnormal and Queer

There were 500 men listed on the roll-calls of the three Princeton camps at one time; and there were abnormal and queer men among them.

There were men who checked their personal belongings every week without fail. When this ritual was finished, the money belt was brought out. The silvers and the dollars were spread out on the six foot bed and the money carefully counted. One dollar ... five dollar ... ten dollar ... twenty dollar ... the serial numbers were carefully checked. It amazed all men, this worship of money and for some, it was the first realization that the world contained such people.

Recently a friend queried me on the management of whiskers and such in road camps. Putting it simply and briefly, the condition of the hairy growth on our faces was only equalled to that of soldiers in the front line trenches. That is we did not shave.

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Everyone was spruce and polished when we first arrived in camp. But this was only for a while as daily shavings were extended for a day, another day, and then finally for an extended period. And naturally this was more common among the married men than among the single workers.

Many Varieties

Varieties in face-hair-do cropped up. There was the moustache a la Charlie Chaplin style. There were the 'nankin hige' (Chinese beard) and the 'chosin hige' (Korean beard, neither of which are shaped and are scraggly) styles and some only allowed three or four strands to grow. It was not a beautiful sight.

Perhaps it is the power of the beard but during this period the foreman and the white crew seemed dismal. The procession of bearded men with shovels and mattocks returning to camp must have startled many a stray farmer of the district.

Although camp life was not all 'hige', the condition in every camp seemed much the same. When one camp closed in August, the men that arrived in camp were mostly bearded. Among them, there were men whose sparkling eyes were only visible, and it was impossible to identify them.

Beards began to disappear when the married men began to rejoin their families. Now, in camp we have only ten men with beards, but we can safely say that they will soon vanish too ... except perhaps for Mr. Seiki Nagami, who clings to his ornament with dignity. And it must be added that beards changed many men to a wordly professor or a majestic general ... and others looked like wild men."

Another inspection of the road camps was asked for by the Japanese Government. The date had not been set, but on March 1st, Wardle sent a: "Strictly Confidential" memo to Mills letting him know that this was to take place. However, the representative would be a new man, a Mr. Kobbe, who could speak Japanese, and had made it clear that he would be inspecting the Settlements and Camps alone, except for an RCMP officer. Mills was to advise the Engineers that this was going to happen, but Wardle wanted the

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Department's interests protected, and Walker and the Resident Engineers were to be advised to be on the lookout for this inspection and accompany Mr. Kobbe even if he made it clear that he did not want them along. Mills was to advise Walker to contact Eastwood confidentially to have him contact Walker when he heard when the visit was to take place. (6) (See Appendix Chapter 4, 4., for complete text)

On June 7th, a progress report on the Highway Projects was issued, which showed that considerable progress had been made on the H-P Highway. Originally, there were 88.8 miles to complete, and at the time, the report stated: *"On the Princeton end existing road and tote road has been improved, cleaned out, and made passable to Allison Summit, a distance of 50 miles from the Princeton end. In addition, 4.6 miles of standard road (20 to 24 ft. in width) has been constructed.*

On the Hope end the partly graded road between Hope and Tashme has been maintained, widened and improved over a distance of 14 miles. This work included some new simple bridges.

In addition 9 miles of tote road (passable to cars and trucks) have been constructed from Tashme easterly, giving a total of 23 miles passable at the Hope end.

On the whole project there is consequently 73 miles passable with some 16 miles yet to be opened up, and which it is hoped can be done this season if the Japanese will move into the temporary advance camps". (30)

With the summer growing season in the Okanagan under way, the lack of labour was causing the growers in the Valley to ask for Japanese labour much against the wishes of the townspeople. Collins of the BCSC, under pressure on two fronts, wrote a personal and "STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL" letter on June 17th to MacNamara, who in turn promptly passed it on to Wardle, with the comments that he had doubts about keeping the Japanese building roads, and he thought Collins views were sound. Essentially, Collins was advocating the virtual closure of the highway projects except for the H-P, because it was in his interests to improve the

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road into Tashme, and he was under pressure to provide orchard labour to the Valley growers. Collins also wanted the road building equipment at Blue River and Revelstoke to be transferred to the H-P project because there were about: *"five to six miles of very poor road leading into our Tashme Camp which was a nightmare to maintain last winter and the cost of freighting our supplies was very excessive. We have loaned them tents, food, blankets, etc., in order that they may carry on the Hope-Princeton section of the road but they are seriously handicapped in the way of equipment to work in that type of country"*. (6)

As soon as Wardle received a copy of Collins' letter, he immediately had Stinson, an Engineer in the Department, send three copies to Walker for his opinions with respect to what Collins and MacNamara had to say. Walker replied on the 24th, but this letter was not in any file. However, J.A.Pounder, the General Executive Assistant in the Surveys and Engineering Branch, sent Wardle a memo on July 1st, in which he advised Wardle that MacNamara had been told that the BC Public Works Department had asked the Minister to keep the Japanese working on the Revelstoke-Sicamous Highway. The Department, however, would not object to the removal of 75 men from the 250 employed on the highway for the work in the Valley. Pounder told MacNamara that the decision to close the highway project was the Labour Department's responsibility. (32)

Wardle had written on December 11/42 to Eastwood, the General Manager of the BCSC, about the lack of men being provided to the camps when it was indicated by the Commission that the men were available. He had also questioned why there were no married men being provided for work on the Hope end of the highway. On July 26th, Collins replied to a letter from MacNamara, referring to the problems of perceived non-cooperation between the Commission and Mines and Resources. The BC Department of Public Works had made several revisions to the location of the road and had created delays in the work at the Hope end delaying the use of the married men on the highway. Collins was anxious to have men work on the road because the poor road of the previous winter

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created transportation difficulties for Tashme. He wanted to discuss with someone from Mines and Resources how the men at Tashme could best be used to complete the Hope section of the highway. (9)

Collins wrote to MacNamara on the 13th of August that he now knew where the road was to go. The Province was prepared to supply a foreman familiar with bridge construction and all the iron for a bridge provided that the Commission was prepared: *"to supply the labour to take out and broad axe native timber to construct the bridge"*. The Commission was prepared to grade the road using the Commission Caterpillar Tractor and Bulldozer and Collins asked to be given the authority to supply the necessary Japanese workmen and tractor from Tashme to complete the partially constructed road.

MacNamara advised Wardle of Collins' proposal, but Wardle pointed out to him that this proposal would be contrary to the policy which was established at the outset of the road building projects. This policy established that the Department of Mines and Resources would be responsible for road building, and the Commission responsible for all matters arising from the evacuation of the Japanese. This would create more inconvenience at times for the engineers, but Wardle believed that trouble would be avoided in the future. He had no problems with the Commission using the men to build roads used in wood-cutting operations. (9)

"The N.C." March 20th, 1943,

"Hope Highway to Cost Two Millions

Victoria. - The Federal Government will continue employing Japanese labor on the Hope-Princeton highway link but prospects of its being completed during the war are remote, Hon. Herbert Anscomb, minister of public works told the legislature.

The minister said Japanese labor is not very satisfactory as the evacuees spend most of their time cutting wood to keep their families warm.

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The minister stated that he had always favored completion of the link as part of economic development of B.C. 'I support it more strongly than ever now for military reasons,' he added.

According to government estimates, the cost of completing the road would be close to \$2,000,000. Whether the Government Loan Bill would cover the Hope-Princeton road the minister did not know. 'I see no possibility we can do much with the road while the war is on,' he added however.

Reports received by The New Canadian seemed to indicate that necessary tools for road building have not been supplied to these camps. Princeton Camp No.1 reports that after one month of operation, that only three wheelbarrows were obtained. 'When we hit rock and dirt, our mattocks and picks were of little use.' Two pieces of mechanical equipment and three trucks besides the hand tools were supplied within the last three months. In view of these facts, any slow progress may be because of reasons besides 'they spend most of their time cutting wood to keep their families warm,' and especially when it is a common knowledge that road workers are all single men."

"The N.C." same issue, "Our Work at Princeton, No.1

Only meagre information is given on actual work done by workers in reports from road camps. For the readers of The New Canadian, I will explain briefly what has been and is being done in our Princeton camp number one.

As road camps are situated in different sections of the province, the land conditions regarding rock and soil may differ. Because of this operations may differ according to camps and perhaps the going is easier or harder.

When we first started last March the tools we received were only shovels, mattocks and picks. In April we managed to obtain three wheel barrows.

Two miles from camp we started out to straighten a curve. To accomplish this purpose, fifty feet of rock alongside the curve had to be broken up by our hand tools. Within three months we were near our camp.

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In June we started a new road just above our camp. Eight or nine years ago, when an unemployment camp was here, the men had fallen the trees for a distance of three or four miles. Onto this territory we followed with our picks and shovels. Good progress was made when the soil was soft but when we hit dirt and rock our mattock and pick were of not much use.

The mechanical shovel began operation in November and the caterpillar became available in the new year. At present we are working two miles from camp with two machines.

Princeton Camp No.1 **M.Ota"**

"The N.C." August 21st, "Lonely Hearts
Seek Niseiette Pen Pals

Here's something new to the columns of The New Canadian ... up in a lonely road camp of the Hope-Princeton line there are three young men who in existing through day after dull day of camp existence have sent us this appeal for correspondents, particularly those of the fairer sex who could help them keep in touch with the outside world and boost their sagging morale. How about it, gals, somebody want to do a good turn?

Their address is c/o T.Yama, Summit Road Camp No.4, Princeton, B.C. and here are the fellows:

'T.Y.' says he's 'waiting' to hear from any girls. He's a Japanese National who can write and speak fairly good English. He says he is 'short, dark and handsome ... but never mind the 'short', girls I can always wear 'takageta'(platform slippers). He's 29 and still single. Crazy about outdoor sports and NOTE: 'my chief hobbies at present are washing and mending'. He 'will gladly exchange photos after the sixth letter in succession'.

'K.F.' is married so he says his appearance would not interest you girls but he thinks he looks 'quite handsome'. He's 29 and is most anxious to hear from any girls who can write good English letters and are willing to receive Japanese letters. His hobby is writing 'haiku'.

Last but not least is 'K.O.'... a brash young man who wants to know if any of you are looking 'for a young man, tall, dark and

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handsome, age twenty-one and to make everything perfect, single! He says 'gee, it's too bad that I as a handsome man has been neglected by you young girls. 'Write to me and find out who I am.' He will gladly send you the pictures of his camp and exchange photos after the third letter in succession. Girls the rest is up to you!'"

The following excerpts were from a letter written by J.M. on August 25th in Japanese to his mother Mrs. H.M. in Fukuoka-ken in Japan. Delivery should have been via the Gripsholm, the ship used to exchange Nationals of the warring countries. The letter never reached J.M.'s mother because the Censor condemned the letter: *"The Japanese here are not permitted their freedom. In March of last year the Government took over my shop, confiscated my goods and put me in this camp for single men.*

The women and children have been taken away from the coast and put more than a hundred miles east in a place of safety

In July men were taken from this road camp and sent to work in Alberta for twenty-five cents an hour 8 hours a day, out of which seventy-five cents a day is taken out for food. There's nothing much we can do about it in wartime. Not one article of our belongings has been sent to us. All the single men have been sent to camps like this." (6)

Another letter written in English by "Tets" in Tashme on September the 15th to T.U. in Port Credit, Ontario, was released by the Censor. The Censor's comment was: *"The letter is written in B.C. by a Japanese named Tets to a brother T. in Toronto who is sending it to the addressee who may be a relative, or friend apparently with a view of finding out if there would be any chance for a job for the writer, because he says 'This road camp life is really ruining a guy. I am disgusted with myself and I am all for going to Ontario now. Mom says she'll go anytime if we can be all together. This ghost town life is really corrupting everybody's morale. I am sick of being kicked around by the white guys. Just the other day one gang had a fight with the foreman - the bloody Englishman! If this war was to finish in a year or two it might be*

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O.K. here, but you can plainly see that it is going to last another 5 or 6 years". (6)

Another intercepted letter written by M.L. at the 11 mile Camp, Hope, on September the 6th to J.K. at Blackspur Lumber Camp Albreda. The excerpt reads: *" This life in a road camp is ruining all the future for us young fellows by allowing us to work for a measly 25¢ an hour. That is why there is so much squawking about this highway being so slow in its completion. If the government would give us decent wages then 'maybe' this project of the Hope-Princeton highway would go through. Look at it as it is now, the white workers get normal wartime pay with cost of living bonus and everything and less work, but look at us, 25¢ or 30¢ an hour and work harder? No, sir, not on my life we do work enough for what we are paid with." (6)*

"The N.C. September 11th, *"Princeton Camp Has Three Team League*

Princeton, Summit Road Camp. - Recently two miles of new road have been cut through and with the completion of another eight or nine miles through the bush a road to Tashme will become a reality. Men from the other Princeton camps have been reported to have visited the evacuation centre often, and a Princeton camp softball team journeyed the road recently to play against teams from the Hope 15-mile camp and Tashme.

On August 3, the opening of our new baseball field was held. With over sixty enthusiasts here and some visitors from the No.1 camp augmenting the number, a three team league was organized, which is I think remarkable in view of the fact that this is predominantly an 'Old Man' camp. The age of the players range from the early twenties to an energetic forty-eight.

The three teams were named 'Arawashi' (Wild Eagle), 'Towa' (Eastern Peace) and 'Akebono' (Day-break). ...A visitor late last month was Rev. Yoshioka from Kelowna.

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"The N.C." September 25th **"On Feminine Pen Pals**

Editor, The New Canadian ... In the August 28 issue of The New Canadian there appeared an item concerning the appeal of some members of this camp for feminine pen pals. Considering the lack of things to do in their leisure time, I think such an appeal is quite in order. When even men like ourselves, who are over forty, feel the loneliness of this existence, it should cause no surprise that the younger men feel the need for companionship if only through letters.

The young men who sent that appeal are all of good character and it is not merely a matter of joking to them. On the contrary, they are very serious in asking for correspondents.

I admit that what I am saying is just an old man's trifling into matters that are not his business, but I ask for them that if there are any young girls who are kind-hearted enough to sympathize with the lot of these men and write to them, please make the letters of a kind that will brighten their lives and make them smile, not messages that are serious for they would not serve the purpose at all.

Princeton, B.C.

Shosaku Hayashi"

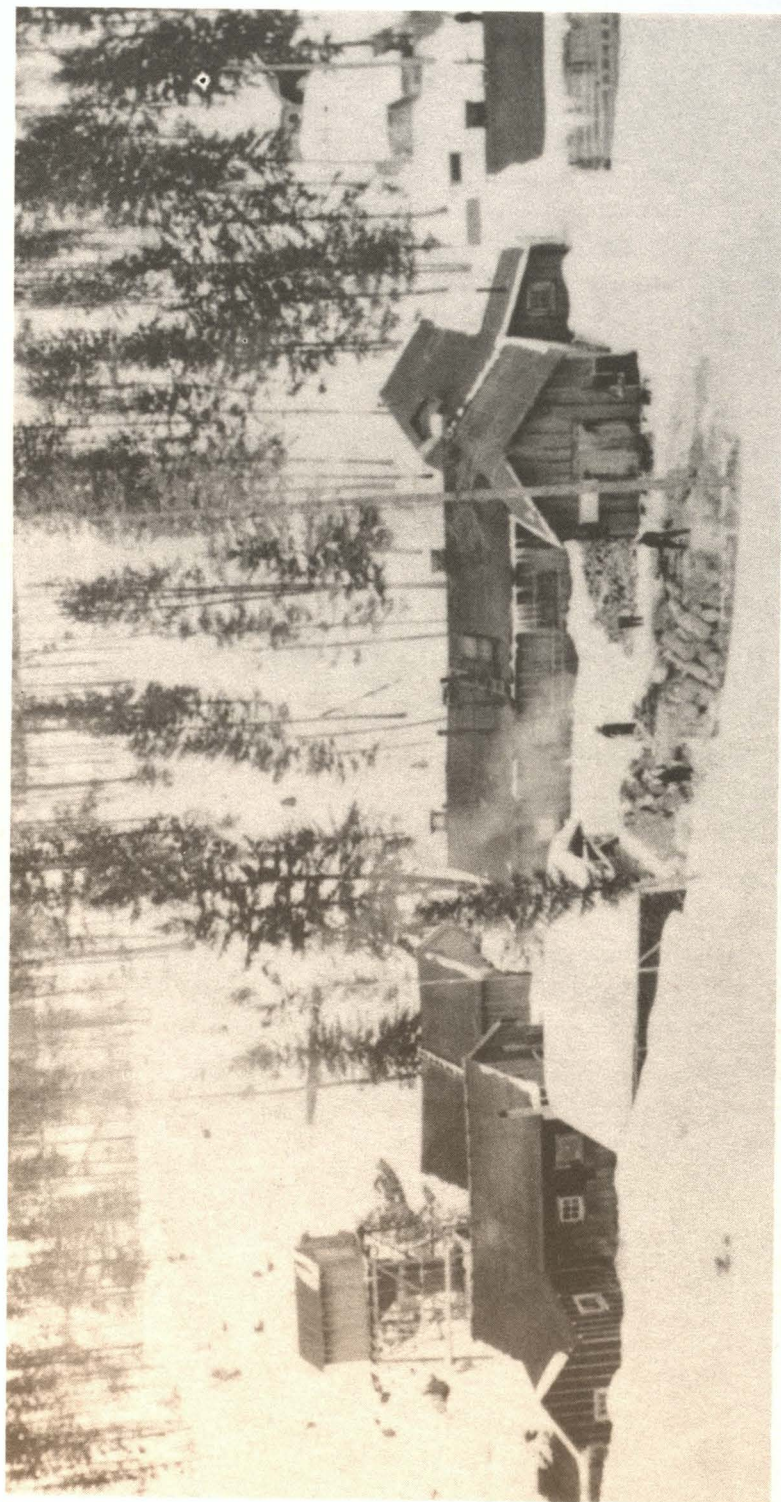
"The N.C." September 25th, **"Softball at Princeton**

Princeton, No.5 Camp. - It is only the first weeks of September but already the mornings and evenings have become quite chilly. Despite this and the fact that it is not the season for baseball any longer our lack of any other form of recreation finds us still enthusiastically playing softball. ... "

An intercepted letter written by "Lily" in Slocan on September the 29th, to her brother G.S. at Taft Camp #3, was condemned by the Censor. The letter reads: *"The boys that came back from Albreda were in the office to see Mr. Skinner every single day but so far they got no results. They were turned away daily telling them to come back next day. We don't know what's cooking, but they are to report at 8:30 a.m. tomorrow. Maybe they will be given a job in Fuel Wood Project which is essential job or they may be the first*



*Camp No. 1&2 Ballteam: Back Lt - Rt: Fukushima, S., Shiino, K., Kitagawa,, Middle Lt - Rt: Murata, H., ?,?., Funamoto, G., Murata, R., Kawamura, K., Ishii, ?, ?, ?, ?, ?, Front Lt-Rt: Ueyama, Funamoto, D., Nagayama, J., Yasui, Y., Takaoka, J., Takahashi, J., Shiozaki, Y.
(Courtesy: George Funamoto) August 1942*



Copper Creek, Camp No. 2 (Courtesy: George Funamoto)



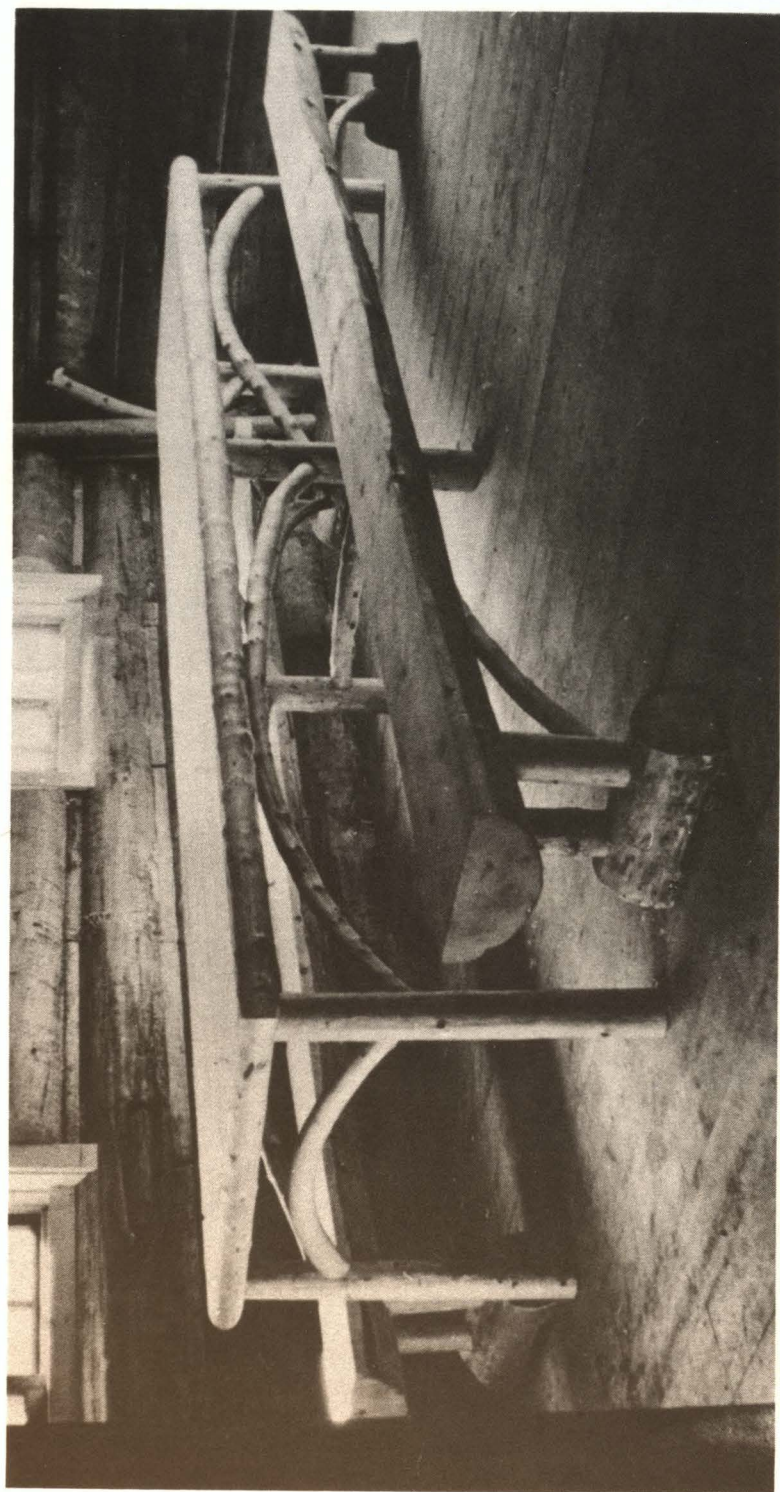
*Lt to Rt, Bottom to Top:
Yamaguchi, J. Horii, M. Kakinuma,
T. Komatsu, K. Kubota (July, 1942)*



*On the trail to Tashme
Funamoto, G. far left Murata, R.,
Shiba, S., Murata, H., Hiratu, M.*



*Typical Wash day in the camps shown is Rainbow Camp
(All above courtesy: George Funamoto)*



Mess Hall Furniture, typical in camps shown is at Thunder River made by Kenji Ishii and other carpenters (Courtesy: Midge (Ishii) Ayukawa)

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ones to be kicked out into some God's Forsaken Country again under Selective Service.

Hide and Frank told Rose that if they can't get a job here, they were going to a camp near Revelstoke before the Selective Service gets to them, and try and call you over. This thing is really a mix up and I don't know whether I'm coming or going. This is the end of the month and we're busy with the payroll and then Mr. Des Brisay wants us to make lists after lists of single men, couple, married with four children and under, fit persons and unfit etc. etc. Honestly they make you work to beat sixty all at once. I still can't figure out why they haven't got some sort of a system but what do they know about office routines anyhow. I'll bet I know more about everything, I mean system work in office, than these once ex-auto salesmen. Maybe the majority of white people don't know but this whole Commission business is nothing but graft. First of all you boys who went to Road Camps by obeying the Government law, get the dirtiest breaks. I guess it'll be us gals turn next to be placed under Selective Service. Did you know that since August, quite a number of girls left for East, and we find out now that most of them don't reach their destination. Yuki Ioi left for Toronto to work at St. Michael's Hospital on September 3rd, but so far not even her parents have heard from her so we were wondering, and today the letter that Fumi wrote to Yuki in c/o St. Michael's Hospital, was returned here. (Author's note: Yuki was my late sister-in-law who married my late brother "Sumo" who was in Jackfish Camp and at this time was in a sugar beet camp in Dover Centre a few miles from Wallaceburg.) Something funny don't you think? So if and when they tell us girls to go East, we're not budging 'til we have a guarantee of the whole works. Why am I taking it all out on you, I hope you don't mind. At least you'll have some idea of what's going on around here anyways." (6)

"The N.C." October 2nd, **"Hope-Princeton Highway**

Pioneer Road Driven Through Final Gap

Hope, B.C. - *'The Hope-Princeton Highway is through!!' was the jubilant cry that rang last week at Mile 26 on the Hope-Princeton route when workers from the Hope 25 Mile camp made the final*

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jab at the last nose of rock at Skagit Bluffs and peered through a narrow path at the other side.

Skagit Bluff is a natural barrier with a 1000-foot-long rock wall that had resisted linking of the road between the two towns for years. The first roaring bulldozer through the Bluffs immediately dug its nose into the soft open country beyond and plowed along in the direction of Princeton.

Princeton bulldozers were also racing from the opposite direction to widen the link before the snow flies.

Lacked Equipment

At the time of the recent trek over the route by a large party of local residents, W.H.Snelson, head engineer of the Hope end of the government camps, declared that the reason for the long delay of the completion of the road was not because the Japanese workers were slacking as was reported in certain sections of the press but because of lack of equipment that was needed to surmount the peculiar conditions of the route

At first the link through the Bluffs will be just a narrow pioneer road of only twelve feet width at the widest part narrowing to eight feet in some sections.

The south side of the road drops a sheer 600 feet to the Skagit River bed and a great deal of widening will have to be done to permit the passage even of construction equipment. No commercial or private vehicles will be allowed to pass through the route this year it was said.

Credit was given by both head engineers of the Hope and Princeton ends to the Japanese workers. It was reported that they had not given any trouble and had worked hard during long hours ... recently they had been working overtime, said Mr. Snelson."

"The N.C." October 23rd, "Completion of Hope-Princeton Road Workers Reply to Slackness Charges

(Two weeks ago the final link of the Hope-Princeton highway was joined to be greeted with huzzas in the provincial press. A correspondent in the Summit Camp, Princeton, No.4, sends the following 'on-the-spot' report of the meeting of bulldozers from

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both sides that finally cleared through a passable road from Hope to Princeton.)

Princeton, B.C. - *The much publicized Hope-Princeton highway project, criticized by some as not progressing enough, commended by others as 'work well done', finally reached a climax in its progress when workers from the Princeton No.4 Camp and the Hope 25-mile Camp greeted each other after digging their way through the last gap to car travel on Oct.6.*

That day had been a holiday for me and at 8 in the morning I joined the last two truckfuls of over twenty road gangster to go visit the scene of their work. The route to work is over freshly constructed paths hewn out of sides of cliffs that yawn down on the turbulent river below. As we rumbled along the few level stretches we would converge into a swerving path on the top of a steep precipitous cliff. Looking down we could see pine trees boldly standing on rocks scores of feet high in the middle of the river. It was a superb sight.

Around us were signs of the hard arduous labour of the men who had steadfastly pushed their way through. Remains of a blasted stump which lay scattered here and there, rocks that had rolled down after the men had gouged out the sides of the hills, a fallen tree mighty even in death, all were mute proof of the work that had gone toward the building of the highway.

After a ride that jostled us for an hour and a half, we reached our destination. Here could be seen some places still untouched by the hand or tool of man or machine. My companions and I set out for a visit to the Hope 25-Mile Camp four miles away.

Three hours later we returned to find to our wonder that since our leaving the work had progressed some fifty or sixty feet. Heaving bulldozers strained closer minute by minute to the position where they would meet.

The time was three o'clock in the afternoon. Everywhere there could be heard sounds of incessant activity. The pulsant roar of the bulldozers, the sound of falling trees, the blasts of dynamite, the squeal and hum of cross-cut saws, the sharp bite of axes, the

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cries of men fleeing from sites of blasting, all mingled in a melange of sound that made me think of a battlefield.

At 4:30 p.m. the road was through. The bulldozers gave a final roar and joined each other. The foremen of both camps stepped forward to shake hands at the spot. It was a glorious moment.

This was the project that could not be finished this year. The project that was attacked many times for the lack of co-operation from the workers. After seeing the results of the immense labours of the men and machines in conquering the final twelve, thirteen miles of road, I feel the work itself is the best answer to blind critics.

One reason of course, that the road was finished earlier than the engineer expected was the gaining of much needed equipment at the last moment, but it is to the credit of the men themselves for their perseverance at the tremendously hard task of completing the last link in the Hope-Princeton road.

The night that the road went through a truck travelled to Hope and on its return the following day it was reported that it took four hours to Hope so we figure the trip to Tashme will be about two and a half hours.

Mr. Sugaya, our camp committee chairman, approached the road engineer with the suggestion that we have some form of celebration of the completion of the road and the engineer was said to have replied that he was thinking along the same lines himself. As a result we have had one day of holiday to commemorate the final link.

Gensaku Hayashi "

"The N.C." October 30th,

*"First Official Car
Travels Hope Road.*

Hope, B.C. - The final gap has been opened through Skagit Bluffs, a pioneer road has gone through, the bulldozers got through with a car passable road, a truck went through to Hope from a Princeton camp, and now to make it OFFICIAL - the first official car to transverse (sic) the Hope-Princeton road went through last week after a difficult journey.

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Recent rains had turned the road into a quagmire at places and towage by a tractor had to be resorted to.

Included in the official party were C.M.Walker, department of mines and resources, Banff; W.Ramsay, provincial department of public works, Kamloops; H.A.Bowering, Princeton and W.H.Snelson, Hope, engineers on the Princeton and Hope sectors".

"The N.C." November 6th, *"Across Canada*

Princeton, B.C.(No.4 Camp) - For the last four months, No.4 Camp, known as the Summit Camp, has been home for men from three of the other base camps. In the last week of October, however, most of the men began to return to their original camps, and by the end of the month, it is expected that this camp will once again be empty.

Although accommodation here is limited to tent houses, there are many advantages. For instance there is more room than in the wooden bunkhouses; the view here on top of the mountain is magnificent; water supplies are excellent; and recreational facilities are very good because of the extensive space.

On the other hand some of the base camps, like No.5, are crowded, the water is not very good, the view negligible, and the chances for recreation are very slim.

To return to such a place is not too heartening, but is necessary because Summit Camp, being situated high on the mountain, becomes too cold in the winter. Weather conditions also hamper bringing in food and other supplies, leaving no alternative but to return to the other camps.

Thinking back since February of last year, many of us seemed to have moved from one place to another countless times. Our suitcases are torn, our bags scored and marked, our dunnage bags ripped. Sometimes we wonder how long this endless moving is going to go on.

Shosaku Hayashi"

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"The N.C." November 27th, **"Princeton Road Workers
Plan Eastward Exodus.**

Princeton, B.C. - A demand for an increase in wages plus cost of living bonus is likely to be made by workers employed in highway camps on the Hope-Princeton road, if they are frozen to their jobs and not allowed to move eastward when they wish, it is indicated in a report from Princeton road camps.

Interest in prospects of resettling in the east has been growing steadily, and all signs point to a marked outflow of men early in the spring, unless the necessity of completing the highway prevents this.

Pressure of work is likely to cancel all projected holidays until after the New Year.

It is also thought that jurisdiction of the entire route will be placed under the Princeton engineer and that Princeton Camp No.1 will become headquarters for highway construction."

1944 - - - another year in the road camps, year 3 and the men began to become more restless but the reports from the correspondents continue to arrive at "The N.C."

"The N.C." January 22nd, **"Road Camps ask Wage Boost.
Princeton Men Draft Petition**

Princeton, B.C. - Consideration for a request of raising the prevailing 25 cents-an-hour and for bonuses was asked in a petition forwarded to the Banff office of the Department of Mines and Resources by the men of the three Princeton road camps last month.

Question: More Wages or Relocation Outside

It is reported that the petition had been in the minds of the workers on the Hope-Princeton line for some time but it had come to the fore when many men left the camps for eastern and B.C. jobs with higher rates of pay. A recent meeting of the Committee heads of the No. 1, 2 and 5 camps resulted in the drafting of a petition

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which asked for the wage increases and bonuses if these rates were not legally restricted.

Acknowledging the fact that a certain number of men were needed to stay in the camp to keep up the project, the camps stated they were willing to stay on the road work providing that their wages could be increased to a more favorable comparison with those prevailing outside of camp.

...

The petition had been sent to the head engineer of the project and has received his endorsement."

The original petition was dated December 16th, and read as follows:

*"Princeton, B. C.
December 16th, 1943.*

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

*Dept. of Mines & Resources
BANFF, Alta.*

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the whole members of the Japanese road camps in the Princeton area who have been engaging the work of your Department, we, the undersigned as follows, humbly wish to make an enquiry to the authority concerned referring to our wages and bonus.

As you may acknowledge that we have been endeavoring to promote the project of your Department, complying with the instructions through the Chief Engineer and his staff, yet we are still being paid less than the earnings of others exclusive of our camps.

And also we have tried hard to raise funds to buy Victory Bond and to date for the Red Cross as much as we could, while we have paid taxes out of our scant incomes.

We could not be content to live such a life confined in seclusion with no amusements and no freedom to prefer any other jobs in Ontario or even B.C. We hope sincerely, herewith, to get your approval for minimum wages and bonus in reasonable rate,

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because our wages up to the present was scarcely able to cover the expenses for a few days' holiday trip beside the livelihood, while those who have their families in Japan have been desperately anxious for feeling their responsibilities to support them after the war.

It is of course a different case if these claims were legally restricted, but if there is any liberty left that we can take, we beg to put the matter under your further consideration. At any rate, if you will kindly give us your definite reply for this letter, we shall be much obliged.

Yours very truly,

*REPRESENTING : Camp No. 1
 Mitsuo Yokome*

*Camp # 2
 Jugoro Fukabori*

*Camp # 5
 Yoshiharu Sugaya" (31)*

*"The N.C." January 29th, "Banff Hands tied on Wage Question;
Appeal to Ottawa*

Camp No.5 , Friday Creek, Princeton, B.C. - The Banff office has no say about Japanese road worker wages, an order-in-council sets the rates stated C.N. Walker. The communication stated that the department is well aware of the fact that the men are working for low rates of pay and ... despite this they have been contributing to the Red Cross and other such charities. The excellent work done by the men in the Hope-Princeton line and the splendid spirit of co-operation between the Japanese and the white staffs were appreciated and hopes for further co-operation in the same manner were expressed.

To a charge that when the appeal was made by representatives of B.C. lumber companies for labour from the camps that the majority of the men preferred to stay in the camps; the Princeton camps retort that a reason was last summer when a group of men tried to leave for jobs in order to become self-supporting, their

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application was refused by the engineer on the grounds that road work was an essential industry."

MacNamara eventually received this petition and wrote to Collins on the 17th of February 1944 sending him the petition and a reply which he had drafted. He asked for Collins to pass it on with any modifications he saw fit. It is interesting to note that he closed his letter with the question: "*Do you think there is a case for an increase in the wage rate?*" (31) (Author's note: It would be charitable to think that he might have been feeling somewhat guilty for continuing to keep the wages frozen. The men in the camps had been labouring on road work since late February of 1942 at the same hourly rate of 25¢. However, it was the Labour Department's policy to try to get the men to take employment in the East at better rates in order to carry out the Government's policy of dispersal of the Japanese population to other parts of Canada.)

MacNamara's reply follows:

"Ottawa, February 17, 1944.

*The Japanese Workers in
Camps Nos. 1, 2, and 5,
Hope-Princeton Project,
Princeton, B.C.*

Dear Sirs:

The Minister of Labour has asked me to reply to your letter of February 10th asking for an increase in wages on the highway project on which you are working.

While it is probably true that the wages which are paid on this project are not high, they are, nevertheless, not unfair for the type of work carried on and particularly since board and lodgings are supplied at a very moderate rate and your dependents are living in settlements administered by this Department, in which accommodation and community privileges are provided at a very low rate.

Moreover it has been, and is open to all men employed on this work to take other employment with private employers which has

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been offered from time to time at the going rates paid for such work.

Therefore, if you are not satisfied with the rate of pay which you are receiving on highway work, I would suggest that you should take advantage of other work which is offered and for which you will receive the same rates of pay as other workmen on such employment.

Yours very truly,

MacNamara,

Deputy Minister of Labour." (31)

*"The N.C." March 18th, "Princeton Road Workers
Assured Freedom to Move to Other Jobs.*

Princeton, B.C. - Wage increase refused. Workers satisfied over assurances given that they are free to take other employment. MacNamara suggests that those who are dissatisfied with wages take advantage of outside opportunities."

"The N.C." May 27th, "Strikers Return to Work

Hope. - A 3 day sit-down strike came to an end last week at the 15 Mile Camp on the Hope-Princeton road project when the workers returned to work on their own accord.

The road campers went on strike to protest the dismissal of a fellow worker but Resident Engineer W.K. Gwyer remained adamant in his decision."

There were two letters written about the strike by "Min" at Tashme; the first to N.O. at Taft, on May 16th, and the second to S.T. at Griffin Lake Camp, on May the 24th. Both were marked POLITICAL, and both were released. Their excerpts follow:

First letter - "Writer tells of trouble in Camp near Tashme.

'Since yesterday our camp has not been working. The reason is something like the incident at Yard Creek. On Saturday afternoon one of the boys got sent back to camp and told to go to Tashme 'cause they don't want him. We all got together and decided that if this boy is sent back to Tashme we all want to be sent back too.

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We told the foreman and now we are waiting for the engineer to come up. This camp is surely the ----. The way it's run by the white guys sure makes me sick. I sure hate the guts of some of these guys. I guess in a few days we'll know what they are going to do with us. Maybe they'll close down the camp like Yard Creek, but we are all ready to go anywhere. I won't write too much detail 'cause the censor might cut this out. (39)

Second letter: - "Reference to strike at Japanese Work Camp.

From friend to friend.

'I guess you read in the Province papers about the 15 mile camp striking for 3 days. Well we strike from Monday to Thursday. They canned one guy and told him to go back to Tashme, and we didn't like the idea so we striked. He's physically unfit to do hard work for he won't be sent East. I heard Hartley wrote to Commission and the Commission answered back to leave the case alone to the Dept. of Mines & Resources. He still belongs to the Camp but can't get any work. If we had strike until they let the guy come back to work, they would of closed the camp and then bring some guys up from 11 mile. You know this engineer don't give a (obscene language).

If we don't like it he tells you he'll close the camp down. From this attitude I figure they want to close the camps'". (36)

In the face of increasing industrial and farm demand for Japanese labour from the road camps, and the frozen hourly rate of 25¢ that the men had been working for since the road camps had been opened, it was natural for the men who were willing to work to become unhappy with their lot. An example of their feelings can be appreciated through intercepted letters that M.H. at #2 Camp, Princeton wrote to Mrs.Y.Noda in Minto City, BC, on May 10/44, and which T.Y. at Camp #1, Princeton wrote to Mr. Takaichi Umezuki in Kaslo. (both letters translated from Japanese)

May 10, 1944.

* * * *

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"COMMENT"

Political

Writer describes conditions at his Camp

Letter from friend to friend.

'There is such a great difference between wages and working conditions here and outside that many of our boys want to go outside to find work, but the engineer in charge here absolutely refuses to let the good workers go. He, on the other hand, forces the lazy ones to go whether they wish it or not. All the men say the only way to get permission to leave is to be lazy. Daki and I have been known as 'good boys' since we came here so the whole camp is watching with interest to see if he will let us go as we have requested.'" (34) (letter was released)

June 1, 1944.

* * * *

"COMMENT"

POLITICAL

Letter to the Editor of the 'New Canadian'

Article for publication.

'On the 20th April according to instructions from the Department of Natural Resources, the camps at Hope, Princeton and vicinities had their pays greatly reduced and this just when the opportunity came for us to carry on our work with increased efficiency. This would naturally lower our morale and it would also have a bad effect for road construction. Therefore we strongly protested and sent our protest as from all employed at the Princeton Camps.

On the other hand the road we are constructing now is of no importance except to those who are living in this part of the province and I think they have made this reduction in pay in order to disperse the Japanese all over Canada which is evidently the Government's policy. At the same time they are urging us to change over to section and other works. Thinking the matter over there does not seem to be any other reason.'" (34) (letter released)

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At this time, the CNR was attempting to recruit 100 men to work on their section gangs. Walker had wired Mills on the 7th, asking if the work was to be voluntary, and if it was, Walker was afraid that they would still have a considerable number of men in the camps. The Revelstoke project, particularly, had elderly and infirm men still in camp. His big question was the disposition of the white men, Japanese, and the equipment and supplies.

The reply from Mills and Wardle was that the recruitment was to be voluntary, and if the camps were left with an insufficient number of men to operate, they would be closed and the remaining men sent to whichever project was able to continue. As it turned out, the Y-BR project was the one to remain in operation to the bitter end. (27)

1945 - - - the beginning of Year 4 for this project, and what would be the last year. From the point of view of Walker, expressed in a letter to Mills on the 19th of June, this particular project was not one in which he had much satisfaction because of the many changes in standards and location which had been made by the province and which were still being made on June 18th. Since March he had been urging the closure of this project and the amalgamation of labour and equipment on the Y-BR Project. His frustration with the Project shows in the last two paragraphs of his letter:

"The province have, I believe, some five survey parties on this road at the present time, and no one knows where their location will finally terminate. It may or may not be along the line of work which we have been doing on this road for the last two and a half years in certain places, and particularly in the one just mentioned above. When and if the province do build a road on a higher level it will be pointed out to all and sundry that the lower level road was built by Dominion Government engineers at high expense, and will no doubt be pointed out as an instance of inefficiency on the part of the Engineering and Construction Service.

Once again I strongly urge that our entire Japanese projects be merged together on the Blue River-Albreda project, since it is only

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by so doing that we will be given a chance to make any sort of showing of road construction in British Columbia. At the present time our operations in British Columbia are farcical, and are accomplishing no useful purpose except the maintenance of some 160 Japanese at \$2.00 per day, and the supplying of jobs to some considerable number of white men, all at government expense, and with very little to show for it at the end. The sooner we can amalgamate these camps the better for any particular branch and all concerned". (27)

On July 18th, Wardle sent the word through Mills to Walker to go ahead and arrange with Pickersgill, of the BCSC, for the quick transfer of the men in the H-P Camps to the Y-BR project. The transfer was to be voluntary, and those who would not go would have to be absorbed by the Commission. The project was closed down in September 1945, and at that time there were 50 miles passable from Princeton to Allison Summit, and at the Hope end, there were 7 miles graded and surfaced as well as 14 partly graded miles of road between Hope and Tashme. (31)

I REMEMBER THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY ROAD CAMPS

By George Funamoto June 1993

The road camps along the Hope-Princeton Highway and the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway in the Rockies to the North, were camps for the Issei Nationals.

A group of 57 men from the Rainbow Camp on the Yellowhead- Blue River Highway Project were transferred to Princeton, B. C. on August 7th, 1942. We left Rainbow in the afternoon and arrived in Hope around daylight the next morning. We were destined for Camp #2 at Copper Creek, approximately 30 miles south of Princeton on the Hope-Princeton Highway. We joined a group of men from Vancouver Island who had been there since early March.

The buildings at Camps #1 and #2, which were to be our bunkhouses, were originally built during the 1930 depression years.

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Surprisingly, they were in relatively good condition, even though they were just shiplap houses covered with medium weight tarpaper. A drum type stove was the sole means of heat for an area approximately 10 by 30 feet. There were also two mess halls; one for the Caucasians and one for the internees.

From Princeton, the highway ran south and then westward through the Manning Provincial Park, and paralleled the Similkameen River for the most part, to the source of the river near Allison Pass. This is the summit where the highest Camp, #4, was situated, and was approximately half way to Hope. The summit was the divide where the Similkameen flowed eastward and the Skagit, westward. The area around Princeton has a dry climate with the summer temperatures around the 80's and below freezing in the winter, often dipping as low as 30 - 35 degrees F below. One night, it dropped to 45 degrees F below, a new experience for most of us from Vancouver.

The road work consisted of drilling dynamite holes, something new to some of us, knocking down rocks from cliffs, working along with the bulldozers and gas shovels. The men applied themselves to the work at hand and the foreman soon realized he had a good crew, and we all got along well. The road progressed gradually and it was a good feeling to see the results of our labour.

After work or on weekends, the men tended gardens, collected rocks, and other things from nature such as wood from the juniper tree from which they crafted beautiful boxes and brooches. Some of the men, who were animal lovers, caught chipmunks and kept them as pets. There were a couple of artistic people in Camp #2. One was T. Kakinuma, who was an excellent landscape painter. After the war, he taught ceramics at a university in Vancouver. The other was M. Hashimoto, who also painted and did some sketchings, some of which, would have been considered erotic. He once carved a bust of a Japanese courtesan from a tree trunk. It was the centre piece of attraction in our camp.

Camp #2, which was situated near the confluence of the Similkameen River and Copper Creek, was one of the most picturesque of the four camps. On bright sunny weekends, the men went for hikes up the road or along the river. Some stayed in

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camp just talking to friends or doing the laundry. Once in a while, Mas Takaoka, Yosie Yasui, my brother Doug and I would hike along the Similkameen, a beautiful, clear fast moving river, for a picnic at a spot some distance from the camp and away from the road. We would take some rice, a frying pan and shoyu for our "shore lunch" with grilled speckled trout, fresh from the river. A delightful way to while away the hours.

Within a short walking distance upstream from the camp, there was a deep pool which was our swimming hole, and many were the days when we all refreshed ourselves. There were trout and whitefish in the pool. The whitefish made tasty sashimi.

On weekends and some evenings, we played softball. It was a good outlet for our frustrations and anxieties and it was all in good fun. Most of the Isseis had never played ball but despite their age joined in with us young guys and enjoyed themselves. There was Sho Numata, 16 years old in 1942, a Nisei, who accompanied his father, and myself, also a Nisei, who followed my Issei brother Doug, and young Yosie Yasui, an Issei, who was a natural at baseball and helped us with our game.

Sometime in early fall, 1942, I was transferred to Camp #1, the headquarter for the Princeton end of the Project, to work in the office. The Resident engineer at that time was A. J. Bowering; office manager, Harry Green; accountant, M. O. Heap, B Comm.; purchasing agent, Alexander S. Hamilton; 1st aid, "Doc" Payne, (most appropriately). My job was basically secretarial. The main work was typing the payroll for both the Princeton and the Hope camps. The total number on the payroll would be guessed at around 300+. Being a Government job, the payroll had to be submitted in 12 copies--a chore back in those days of manual typewriters where the keys had to be pounded in order to make a legible, in this case, 6th copy, (with carbon papers yet) which meant typing each payroll sheet twice. A computer would have been a god-send! Progress reports handed in by the camp foremen had to be consolidated and summarized, and sent to Ottawa.

From Camp 1, Copper Mountain could be seen across the wide Similkameen Valley. This was the minesite of the Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting and Power Company. In one of

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the Government correspondences (which I had a chance to read before publication of this book), the local business men in and around Princeton and Copper Mountain, were concerned, in their minds, of sabotage, but from our location, isolated up in the mountains, away from the mines separated by the Similkameen Valley, and eleven miles from the town of Princeton, their fears were unwarranted. The men in the camps were, for the most part, law abiding. There were some minor grievances but nothing of real concern. An unfortunate incident in Camp 5 ended in a court case, in which I was called upon to act as an interpreter. Two men got into an argument resulting in one being cut about the face. The argument had started innocently enough when one man started bullying and harassing the other, and tempers flared. The attacker got a light sentence. While this was an isolated case, one wonders why there were not many more. The men were constantly under the strain of being in close confinement with little or no privacy; and with worries about their families, it wouldn't have taken much to start confrontations.

Y. Sugaya at Camp #5, J. Fukabori at Camp #2, and Mits Yokome at Camp #1 were well educated, dedicated and concerned men who ably looked after our needs, with great compassion, tact and diplomacy. These men contributed to the smooth running of all the camps on the Princeton end.

Baseball was the great equalizer in all the camps. Aside from the ball games within the camp itself, each camp had a baseball team which competed against the others. The men looked forward eagerly, to having their games. The camp supplied the trucks to transport the teams and the host camp supplied the refreshments. After the games, back at the respective camps the topic of conversation surely was all baseball.

Sometime in the summer of 1943, "By" Straight, (a brother of Hal Straight, Sport Columnist of the Vancouver Sun) who lived at Copper Mountain, heard about our ball games and called me asking whether there were any Asahi players in our camps. Through his brother Hal's columns, he knew about the famous Japanese *Asahis* and was familiar with some of the players like Roy Yamamura, Reg Yasui, Frank Shiraishi. Unfortunately, there

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were none. (Nag Nishihara was in Tashme). But when told that "Cappy" Fujino, a former manager of the Asahis, was in camp, "By" insisted on bringing over a team, even though we told him we could not field a team good enough to play them, and that we only played softball. They did come. And while the outcome of the game is fuzzy we played baseball and enjoyed ourselves and if "By" Straight was disappointed, he and his team did not show it. It seemed as though "By's" team, as it turned out, was more interested in having a game with us, perhaps fantasizing a game with the Asahis, rather than the game itself. This ball game surely cannot be easily forgotten by the men in the camp. Here, in the midst of a war and our incarceration in the road camps because of it, these local ball players, through the fame of the "Asahis" came to play us, unmindful of the turmoil, discrimination and hatred towards us by most British Columbians, and in the spirit of true sportsmanship, paid tribute to a great ball team, here on the ball ground of a Princeton Road camp. Amazing! Well done, Asahi!!

In September 1943, a group of us from the three camps walked approximately 20 miles through the forest to get to Tashme on the Hope end. The camp trucks drove us to the end of the Princeton road, and we were picked up at the Hope end of the road. The driver of the truck waiting to pick us up at the Hope end was Sandy Stein, of Vancouver. The walk took us anywhere from 10 to 14 hours, depending on our age, but we all made it. Of course the return trip was a drag. We did have a ball game with the Hope Road Camp men, a "no contest" as far as we were concerned. But we fulfilled the reason of our visit to Tashme, that of playing ball. The following year, we made a second trip, but the distance was much shorter because of further progress on the road work.

In the winter, there was skating. We flooded the ball ground and got those Isseis who were foolhardy enough to come out and take a few bumps and skinned knees. Roy and Hardy Murata were skilled at skating. Most of us had not skated before, since the coastal area winters were usually mild that the lakes did not freeze, and also we couldn't afford to buy skates either.@SPACE .3 =

In Camp 1, M. Ishii, one of the younger Isseis, who had some experience at skiing somewhere out on the coast, was the only one

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that had a pair of skis and he was quite adept at it. Of course we all had to try it once, but we weren't too successful. The snow around Princeton was powder snow, excellent for skiing.

One Sunday in the summer, Doc Payne and Vince Pineau, chef for the White kitchen, took off for the Lightning Lakes situated on the summit near Skagit Bluff, to fish for Dolly Varden trout and catch they did. They came back with a small wash tub full of fish. For supper that night we had fresh trout, a real treat. I also got a dozen trout for our bunkhouse, which was cleaned, split and lightly salted for a "cha-gai" supper later that week. (Author's note: George provided the following definition for "cha-gai". Rice soft boiled in Japanese tea, usually ladled onto previously cooked rice, in individual rice bowls and eaten with baked salted salmon, a favourite with the fishermen from Steveston. The first time the author had ever heard the expression was in the sugar beet camp in Glencoe, where there were a number of fishermen from Steveston. It was a Sunday morning treat from our Japanese cook, George.)

In the early months of 1943, permission was granted for visitations to the ghost towns. Quite a few men took advantage of the offer and there were people leaving for the various ghost towns from time to time. My brother and I took advantage of it and visited our family in Tashme in February 1943 and again later the following year.

In early September of 1944, Doug, Masao Hashimoto and I, left the Princeton camps, to work for the C.P.R. at Haig, across from Hope, B. C. There were others who took advantage of the new ruling by leaving for employment outside the camp. Sho Numata and his father also left to work for the C.P.R. on the Bridge Gang.

While at Haig, we had to get our provisions at Hope across the Fraser River and in order to do so, we had to get a permit from the R.C.M.P. For the most part I went into Hope with the Section foreman, Ralph Gioia, who not only could vouch for me but helped get the groceries home in his car.

After the war ended with Japan in August of 1945, we were let go. At the suggestion of the R.C.M.P., Doug and I left for Tashme to

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join our parents. From here, in June of 1946, I left for the East and eventually settled in Hamilton, Ontario.

Incidents told to Yon at Vic's on Friday, May 7th, 1993, not written on the previous pages.

The White Foreman at Camp 2 was aware of the reason why we were there. And while he did not say so in so many words, treated us with respect and fairness, even to the point where he bought us a radio with a short wave band on it, capable of listening to Japan. Whether he knew that this was one of the restricted items, we never found out.

One evening at the Summit Camp, I accompanied a fellow Issei on a fishing expedition, surreptitiously of course, but was caught by one of the lesser Security Guards who had sneaked up on us. We were taken to the Head Guard, (with whom I was friendly), who thanked the Security Guard and dismissed him. Then he turned to me and said: *"Damn it, if you go fishing, for goodness sake, don't get caught"*.

In the evenings, some of the men amused themselves with "Shi-Ko", a Chinese gambling game, called Fan-Tan? This was a game that involved buttons and the object of the game was to guess the number of buttons that were left. The dealer would grab a handful of buttons, place them on the table and methodically remove them in lots of fours. The placing of the bet involved putting the money at various positions on the square, (corners, for instance) far too complicated for most of us. At one time or another, most of us bet a quarter here and there, just for the experience. Still a great pastime for some of the avid gamblers.

Passes were issued by the Security for people going into Princeton for dental work, shopping or other personal reasons, but they always were accompanied by a guard. However, when leaving for the Ghost Towns, say for Tashme, the train schedule was such that one either had to stay up till 2:30 a.m., (Kettle Valley Line of C.P.R.) or stayed at the Princeton Hotel, but without the accompaniment of a guard. This seemed quite odd at being left without supervision so late at night, but not during daytime.

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While I was working in the office at the Princeton Camp, whenever I had time, I helped unload the supply truck. I learned how to drive the truck and sometimes, a load of dynamite had to be unloaded at the powder house which was built back into the mountains away from the camp. I would drive the truck to the powder house and help store the load. Get goose pimples just thinking about it now. No one said anything, good, bad, or indifferent about this.

While in the office at Camp 1, one of the jobs, the choice of ordering, say fish for instance, was more or less left up to me. While there were certain restrictions and guidelines to follow, price was foremost on the list. Therefore, the camp fish menu was limited to lesser quality fish. In order to change the menu, I ordered halibut, at 18 cents a pound--an extravagance in those days--instead of the usual pink salmon, herring, cod and the like. At the end of the month, all invoices were submitted to Ottawa for audit. A few weeks later, the resident engineer got a nasty memo from Ottawa. After that, no more halibut.

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APPENDIX CHAPTER 4

1. HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

List of Physical Unfit Japanese as at June 9th, 1942.

Hope End

Nominal

Roll

No	Name	Age	Remarks
05408	Kikumoto, Sakamatsu	-	This man has not worked for 6 weeks on account of pain-fully flat feet, he can hardly walk.
10619	Kimura, Sam Shinji	-	This man has been operated on for T.B. of the kidney and his remaining kidney is also affected. He does light work, but according to the Doctor's report he might be taken seriously ill at any time, and we are 43 miles from a Doctor, and 11 miles from a phone.
04048	Oyama, Shotaro	-	This man has Diabetes, and according to the Doctor's report, he is quite serious He has not taken insulin for two months, and as this is a 100 Man Camp, no individual diets can be arranged. He is able to do light work, but does not do that very well as he has never been accustomed to working outside.

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Princeton End

08637	Kikegawa, R.	60	Light work
03360	Kinoshita, O.	64	" "
06656	Nakagawa, K.	61	" "
08639	Ozaki, T.	71	" "
00646	Mitani, S.	54	" "
00650	Onoda, T.	48	" "
05816	Endo, K.	57	" "
00601	Okamoto, T.	70	" "
07980	Mori, D.	45	Very light work
08378	Fujiwara, K.	57	Light work
08194	Ichikawa, I.	66	" "
13548	Oyama, N.	62	Light work
00460	Sakamoto, H.	55	" "
08196	Yokota, S.	57	" "
09182	Oyama, H.	47	Very light work
08727	Toda, T.	47	Light work
08648	Yokota, S.	58	" "
09041	Yamada, M.	43	This man only has one arm, Mr. Clarke wrote to the Security Commission on 18th May.
09172	Toyota, S.	45	An Asthmatic. Letter to the Security Commission on 8th May. Since writing have had considerable wet cold weather and he is worse.
10041	Sonoda, A.	39	Has a letter from his own doctor stating he has Albumin in his Urine and should have light inside work.
10547	Obukura, S.	40	Has stiffness in left leg & stomach trouble. The doctor here has given him a diet which we cannot supply him with.

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|-------|-------------|----|--|
| 07666 | Mukuda, J. | 40 | Has had a broken ankle which still troubles him. Cannot walk far. |
| 12038 | Ito, T. | 40 | Covered by my letter of 27th May to B.C. Security Commission. |
| 08540 | Honkawa, K. | 44 | Light duty. His eyes are so bad that he has sick headaches. He is a married man with assigned pay (last month his cheque was \$3.66) & cannot pay the approximate \$20. required to get new glasses. (9) |
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2. TRANSLATION

July 17, 1942.

Kaizo Tsuyuki,

Representative of Japanese Nationals living at Camp No.14,
Hope, B.C.

TO: DELEGATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS
COMMITTEE AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CANADIAN
GOVERNMENT.

It is my understanding that the proposed settlement to be established here is to comprise mostly of Japanese Nationals. On account of the nature of work to be carried on and of the convenience of families, it is to be expected, as a matter of course, that some Naturalized persons and Canadian Nationals of Japanese origin will be included in the project. In the first place, I wish to set forth the following items from the standpoint of the Japanese Nationals with the request that you would consider them and take appropriate action.

Since the compulsory removal of male Japanese to road camps under an Order-in-Council, practically all Japanese have not been receiving sufficient money for living expenses. Some have drawn

THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

on their available savings and many have sold their furniture and other household effects to sustain themselves. Accordingly, there are very few at present who can continue to live on their own means. It is desired, therefore, that an absolute guarantee of the indispensable necessities of life in whatever circumstances be given to all those who are moving into this settlement.

1) FOOD:

To grant each individual and each family money necessary for purchasing food supplies at prevailing prices. If the authorities have a definite policy concerning the above, it is requested that it be stated clearly. Particularly in anticipation of transportation inconveniences during winter, methods for storing supplies should be considered.

2) CLOTHING:

At this time, when people, who have had to move many times, are experiencing shortage of clothing, it is requested that appropriate consideration be given to the unaccustomed life in the mountain area and to clothing.

3) DWELLING:

It is requested that houses to be constructed be made single family units. I understand that there is a policy at present to gather twenty to thirty families into two or three large barns. This may be an unavoidable expedient in point of construction work but it is hoped that this policy may be dropped as far as possible in favour of single family houses.

4) ELECTRICAL SUPPLY:

Because of danger from use of camp lamps over long hours day after day in winter, it is requested that immediate consideration be given to provision of electricity.

5) FIRST AID MEN:

Pressing need of their disposition.

6) DOCTORS & HOSPITAL:

To complete the establishment of hospitals with doctors and nurses before first arrival of women and children.

Defrayment of the above medical and medicine expenses to be borne by the authorities.

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7) What provisions for indemnity of economic damages suffered as a result of evacuation.

8) ROADS:

As there are many dangerous spots in roads leading into the settlement, it is requested that adequate repairs be made before the arrival of women and children, and that facilities for repair be made ready to take care of transportation of food supplies and treatment of the sick in winter.

9) Prompt supply of equipment and materials necessary for construction. Completion of construction and of transfer of women and children be made before winter.

10) Consideration of past records and statistics would clearly show that we, Japanese, have always been law-abiding. As it is the policy to establish a fully self-governing body in the settlement to co-operate with the authorities, unnecessary restrictions are requested to be avoided and understanding, from a sympathetic standpoint, that justice is not suppressed under democracy, is requested on the part of the Government and the administration of the settlement. (24)

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TRANSLATION

July 17, 1942,

Workers at Road Camp, No.11,

Hope, B.C.

To the Spanish Consul General:

Questions and proposals to improve treatment presented on the occasion on the visit of the Spanish Consul General:

1) Japanese subjects engaged in agriculture in Canada, who have been ordered under Government regulations to evacuate from the Pacific coast territory defined as the protected area (100 miles wide), in the middle of the farming season, have lost the cost of fertilizer put into the land in anticipation of harvest and incurred other damages. Moreover, there will be no harvest for two or three years after the termination of the war due to the great devastation

THE HOPE-PRINCETON HIGHWAY PROJECT

of farms. What steps will the Government take in view of this situation.

2) Japanese logging operators, possessing contracts worth tens of thousands of dollars to cut logs, have made roads and built flumes for this purpose, and, have invested large sums of money in the purchase of necessary logging machinery and tools; but, they have been ordered to evacuate before the return of their investment. What measures will the Government take in regard to these people.

3) What steps will the Government take to indemnify the loss incurred by labourers, who have been working at set wages, or higher wages, on account of their losing work following the evacuation order.

4) We were fingerprinted to co-operate with the Government under the enforcement of the revisions in regulations concerning us, enemy aliens, and made in the face of the changes in the present war. We demand an increase and revision of the prevailing low scale wages, with which it is clearly impossible to purchase the daily necessities and replenish working clothes meeting daily wear and tear. Otherwise, in the face of rising wartime prices, it can be positively asserted now that the day is near when we will not be able to carry on our work.

5) What will the Government do to indemnify the losses incurred through theft of personal effects, stoppage of business, and damage to house, fixtures, and household effects belonging to people in remote areas, who received orders to evacuate immediately without even time to change their clothes and who had to leave their personal effects, business, and property as they were.

6) We acknowledge that up to this time the treatment of workers at this camp and the food have been for the most part satisfactory. We trust Mr. Webster, the resident engineer of this camp and acknowledge that he is very kind to us. At this time when four months have already passed in detention, we express our deep appreciation to Mr. Webster for taking up immediately with the authorities the petitions concerning security of our life.

7) With reference to health and sanitation, it is considered that only one call by a doctor in three weeks is not sufficient. In this

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inconvenient district even the First Aid Man is not on duty on Saturday and Sunday of each week. Insecurity thus being great, it is accordingly desired that the call by the doctor be made at least once a week. At the same time it is desired that a telephone be installed to provide for cases of emergency. Up to the present the doctor has been unkind to the patients by disregarding their petitions and insisting to prescribe forced labour.

8) We petition that the following be permitted: nursing by close relatives of men in hospital due to accident or sickness, and calls on these men by friends; and visit by workers to their wives at childbirth.

9) When the amounts of orders of supplies are unavoidably restricted under wartime prices control, it is desired that restricted goods be substituted with others to bring the volumes of supplies up to the original orders.

10) Has the Canadian Government authority under international law to evacuate us from the "protected area" under wartime regulations, to apply us to compulsory labour in the road camps, and to restrict our liberty. (24)

* * * *

TRANSLATION

TO: the Consul General of Spain, Delegate of the International Red Cross Committee, and Commissioner Mead of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Upon request of the Japanese Government, you have come to visit us who are detained here, in spite of your busy official work and of the lengthy trip. We welcome and respect you and thank you sincerely.

As we pledged with firm conviction, at the time our fingerprints were taken at the Mounted Police barracks, to abide by the laws of Canada and to have faith in the policy of its Government, we have respected the regulations. But the subsequent treatment accorded us by the Government being over severe, we now mistrust the

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action of the Government of this country, known for its traditional freedom and charity.

- 1) Could means of communication with close relatives in Japan be arranged through the International Red Cross.
- 2) The Government have announced that married men now in the road camps will be reunited with their families when work becomes impossible in the winter. However, as the term "winter" is now so vague, it is requested by us married men that a promise of a definite date be made or a more accurate announcement. (24)

* * * *

3.

February 19th, 1943.

PRINCETON ROAD CAMPS Returning to Hope in the evening, I was met by representatives of Camps Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of the Hope-Princeton Highway, and I had an interview with the following men:

- Camp No. 1 - YOKOME Mitsuo,
- " No. 2 - FUKABORI Jugoro,
- " No. 3 - SUGAYA Yoshiharu

Camp No. 1 is known as "Red Buck"; has an occupancy of 80, of which 2 are Canadians, 1 naturalized and 77 nationals. It is eleven miles southwest of Princeton.

Camp No. 2 is known as "Copper Creek"; has an occupancy of 76, of which 3 are Canadian born, 1 naturalized and 72 Japanese nationals. It is 29 miles southwest of Princeton.

Camp No. 3 is known as "Princeton"; has an occupancy of 52, all Japanese nationals, and it is located 17 miles southwest of Princeton.

The representatives assured me that the treatment is absolutely satisfactory. There are no complaints about the food, but it was pointed out that at present only 1050 lbs of rice are left in the stores and they have no knowledge of how and where to get further supplies.

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Newspapers, like in the other camps, are read daily. There is, however, no radio and no electric light. The men work eight hours daily on the road. The work is not hard. The pay is 25¢ per hour for labor, 30¢ for blacksmiths, saw filers, etc., 35¢ for carpenters with their own tools and foremen, and 40¢ per hour for teamsters. 75¢ per day is taken off for board and lodging \$1.00 per month for medical care. Income tax for single men is deducted if the earnings exceed \$55.00 per month, but no deductions are made for Workmen's Compensation or Unemployment Insurance, although compensation is paid if permanent injury should occur to these men. Two men are 67 years old and two others are over 60 years, whereas the youngest is eighteen years old, a Canadian born Japanese, whose father is in the same camp. About 20% are between 20 and 30 years old. Cooks, firemen, cleaners around the camp and bunkhouses are all paid. The sanitary installations are alright, including showers and Japanese style bath.

COMPLAINTS It is very lonely in the mountains. The men would like a picture show once in a while and are wondering if it would not be possible to arrange a show in Princeton at least once a month. It is claimed that they spend up to \$1500.00 per month in Princeton and that the population there would not mind at all. The Japanese would, of course, gladly pay for the transportation and the admittance fee.

No. 2 Camp has a recreation hall housing about 25 men and baseball and skating are pastimes; also there is some skiing, but only two men could afford to buy skis so far.

No fishing is allowed in streams and lakes to the Japanese population and this privilege during the season would be much appreciated.

The pay of 25¢ per hour is considered not enough, because, as the Spokesmen pointed out, the work done would warrant a higher pay because they are really trying to cooperate and put in an honest days work. During the cold weather and rain no protection is given when the men are driven in open trucks. They wonder if tarpaulins could be provided on the trucks, offering some shelter. Mr. Bowing is engineer in charge and the men claim at first he was somewhat difficult but is alright now.

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In case of need of manpower in industry, these men would like to be transferred. They also wanted to know why newlyweds are transferred out of British Columbia. I had no answer to this question.

They also asked me for a list of all Japanese in Canada, so that the newspaper "The New Canadian" might be sent to all. They also wanted to know why applications for repatriation were stopped by the Protecting Power. I informed these men that the representative of the Protecting Power would be visiting them very shortly and that he probably would be in a position to answer this question. These men would also like to know definitely if the Japanese Red Cross or the Japanese Government are looking after and providing for the families in Japan, whose husbands are in Canada. (33)

4. *(Following is a copy of a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources.)*

Strictly Confidential

March 1st, 1943.

Mr. Mills -

Re: Inspection of Japanese Construction Camps.

You will recall that last summer Mr. Pedro Schwartz, Spanish Consul General, made an inspection of some of our highway camps on behalf of the Japanese Government, and was accompanied by a Red Cross delegate, an officer of External Affairs, and our Supervising Engineer Mr. Walker. I understand that Mr. Schwartz was inclined to take a very fair view of conditions, and was disinclined to encourage the Japanese in any unreasonable complaints.

I am now confidentially advised that the Japanese Government have requested their Protecting Power, Spain, to send another representative to inspect the Japanese Camps, Community Settlements, and other points of employment, and that a Mr. Kobbe has been selected. He has made strong representations that he be permitted to inspect the camps and settlements etc. alone,

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and does not wish to be accompanied by even a representative of the R.C.M.P. He has given the impression that he will find as much fault as possible, and be thoroughly sympathetic with all representations made to him. R.C.M.P. authorities will, of course, not agree that he should make the inspections unaccompanied, and an R.C.M.P. officer will be with him. I cannot say whether or not there will be a representative of the External Affairs Branch, and we will not be able to have Mr. Walker accompany the party as was the case last year.

However, as we are responsible for the work operations, layout, and maintenance of all the camps, we should protect the interests of the Department by confidentially advising our Resident Engineers and Mr. Walker of the proposed inspection, and instructing the Resident Engineers to be on the lookout for this visit. When Mr. Kobbe reaches camp, the Engineer should accompany him on the round of inspection, even if the former very evidently objects to it. If Mr. Kobbe desires to call the Japanese together and address them, our Engineer will, of course, place no obstacle in the way. The main object is that our Engineer will be able to show the Spanish Representative the various buildings and arrangements that are made for housing and feeding the Japanese. Mr. Kobbe is reported as being thoroughly familiar with the Japanese language, and no doubt will converse with them almost entirely in Japanese.

Our Resident Engineer must arrange with the Foreman or Timekeeper of each camp to advise him immediately, in the best way possible, if the inspecting party arrives at any camp on a project without warning, and at which the Engineer may not be located at the time. The Engineer should then arrange to be with the party as much as possible.

We will try and get advance information, but in view of Mr. Kobbe's attitude I doubt if any definite dates will be available. It might be well for Mr. Walker to write a strictly confidential letter to Mr. Eastwood to the effect that he has heard a representative of Spain, acting in the interests of Japan, may visit the camps again this Spring, and to let him know privately if he hears when the visit may take place.

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It does not appear that any inspection will be made for at least three or four weeks, or perhaps considerably later.

Apparently Mr. Kobbe intends to get in touch with Canadian Nationals (born in Canada) as well as Japanese Nationals, because the Japanese Government is insisting that all Japanese, whether naturalized or born in Canada, are entitled to a dual nationality, namely, they are British subjects because they are born on British soil or become naturalized, and are subjects of the Emperor because they are always Japanese.

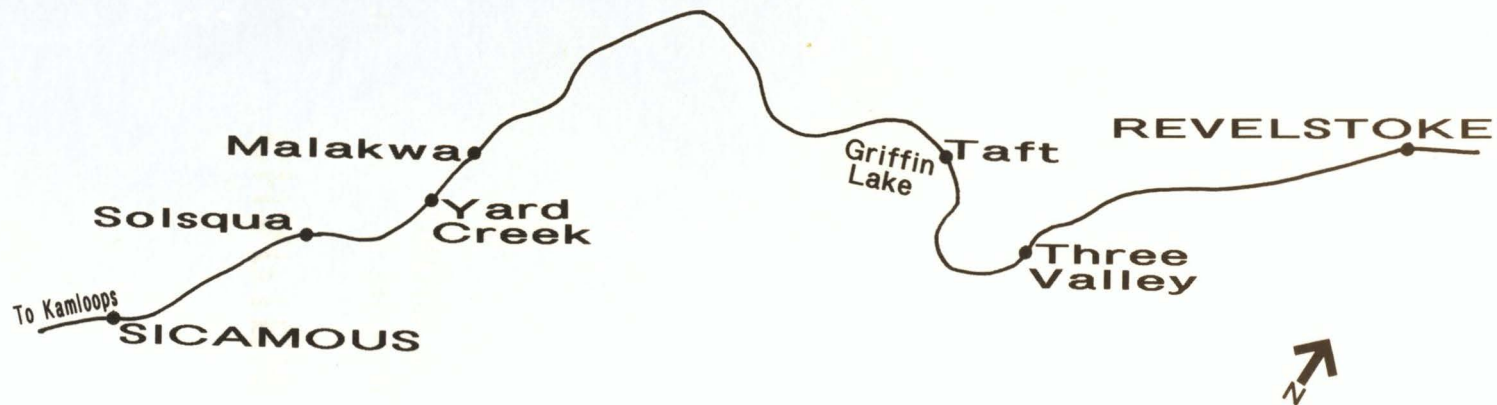
(Sgd J.M.Wardle)

Director. (6)

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CHAPTER 5

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT



**REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS
HIGHWAY**

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

On February 19th, 1942, Wardle wrote to MacNamara about road projects in British Columbia, which he had discussed with Arthur Dixon, the Deputy Minister of Public Works. The Revelstoke-Sicamous (R-S) Highway, which already had a road which was passable to all kinds of traffic, could use widening and improving and was #3 on Dixon's list of preferred projects.

On the 6th of March, Wardle wrote to MacNamara and stated that the chief justification for opening camps on this project would be the quick establishment of camps which would absorb 500 to 600 men. In his view, it was a temporary expedient compared to the other two projects which were valuable from a National Defence standpoint and so, if more men were needed on the other projects, they would be drawn from the R-S project. The main drawback to the project was the fact that the road paralleled the main CPR line and in fact crossed the line 10 times or more between Revelstoke and Sicamous. However, this drawback, in MacNamara's mind, expressed in a reply to Wardle, was a plus, because now the CN would not be alone in exposure to the Japanese workers! There had been a letter which suggested that traffic on the CN might be affected because of this exposure. Another point he made was the chance to ask for CP work-cars instead of having to ask the CN again for more cars. (30)

By the 13th, Wardle had asked CP for the work-cars, and asked MacNamara to have a formal request made to Mines and Surveys for the start of this project. It was originally planned for 600 Japanese Nationals, and Wardle thought that the CPR might raise some objection. (30) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 1., for complete text)

By the 18th, both Mitchell, the Minister of Labour, and Crerar the Minister of Mines and Resources, had indicated their approval of the project. Camps would be established at Solsqua, Taft, Three Valley, North Fork (temporary tent camp), Yard Creek and Griffin Lake. (30)

When the evacuation of the Japanese men from the west coast was set in motion, the Government's intention was to keep the Nationals in separate camps from the Naturalized and Canadian-born men. Originally, the R-S project was supposed to

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be for the Nationals, but the problems with the NMEG and the negative reports coming back to Vancouver from the Schreiber camps, made the Commission's task of shipping men to the Ontario road camps almost impossible. On the 26th of March, Walker ordered 360 men for the R-S project, and when Wardle advised MacNamara of this, MacNamara thought that he might wire McVety, the Regional Superintendent of the UIC in Vancouver, that Canadian Japanese could be sent. Whether he did is not clear, but the R-S project became an alternate camp for the placement of the Nisei men. However, because of the resistance of the NMEG, the Commission could not provide any men until April 7th, and they finally arrived in camp on the 8th. This caused some annoyance on the part of Walker, because work-cars were already in place at Solsqua, Taft, Three Valley and Cambie Siding for which the Department was paying rental for at least seven to 10 days and no value was being obtained. In addition, all the administrative staff were in place waiting for men to show up and by April 11th, only 97 men had been sent.

No one had bothered to inform the Mines and Resources people of this change in the make-up of the camp, and on the 4th of June, Mills, the Chief Engineer of the department, was asking Wardle to clarify the situation for the Banff Office. (30)

"The N.C." April 25th,

"The Public Forum

From Unit 3, Taft, B.C. comes a cheerful letter to the editor via the philosophical pen of Eddie R.Ide, well-known Vancouver Nisei athlete, who we hope, will continue to uphold the honor of the Taft camp.

Writes Eddie:

'Not to be outdone by other camps, reporting on the progress they have made, we from Taft bring you news from the future metropolis of the interior.

Up until today (April 22) there were approximately 82 fellows here, but another 42 arrived here this morning, making the total of 144.

At first we had only the bunk cars and mess cars, which made it necessary to have three sittings every meal, but now that our mess

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hall has been completed, thanks to the speedy work of our carpenters and their helpers, we all sit down together. We also have one bunkhouse completed, except for a few finishing touches, and our second bunkhouse will be completed within a short time.

Our Motto

The mess and bunkhouses are located in a fine secluded spot, about a mile and a half from the railway station. Nearby is a stream which is at present full of trout, making a number of fellows here wish they had some fishing tackle on hand.

To date there has been no trouble whatever, between or among foreman, 'straw' bosses and worker. We all seem to have one thought in mind. - 'United We Stand, Divided We Fall'. Each and everyone is working in harmony, trying to co-operate - the one reason why our camp cannot help but be one of the best on the whole highway project.

Here in Taft we are permitted to have our cameras, and so a number of the boys went for a walk last Sunday to the next campsite called Three Valley and took some lovely snapshots. Many of the lads though reported 'hot feet' after the little jaunt, happened to be 22 miles return. At any rate, it made them enjoy their supper and perhaps make a few realize that when one is good and hungry, he will eat anything put before him.

Food Not Bad

Our food is not too bad, except we lack fresh vegetables and the older men would like to dig into a steaming bowl of rice.

Just this morning, when the C.P.R. passed here with many Japanese on their way to the sugar beet farms, and other camp sites, we all waved them good luck and health, to keep their chins up and carry on!

At present the chief worry is what the future holds for our parents, brothers and sisters and wives. We wonder if and when we will be able to see them and one can tell by the looks on their faces when the men receive mail from home saying 'all is fine', that their somewhat heavy spirits are lightened up considerably by the good news.

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With these tidings from Taft each and everyone of us here wish you all the best of luck and health.

Chins up, Carry on and Cheerio."

In the beginning, there was a problem with the drinking water at Solsqua Camp, Unit #1. Joe B. at the camp wrote a letter which was intercepted by the censors, and the extract from the letter: "... and we buy nothing but pop. The water here is not very good. There is lots of guys getting sick so we never drink water", was followed up by Wardle on May 1st. E.P.Tiller, the Resident Engineer, reported that when the men were in bunk-cars, the water supply came from an old engine tender which contained rusty water. Flushing did not clean out the tender, and the men developed a mild case of dysentery. Water from the nearby Eagle River cleared up the condition until the final source of water, established on April 25th, was piped down to the camp from the mountain side. It came from a brook reservoir and cleared up the health problems which the men were experiencing. The same type of water supply was made to all the other camp sites on the project and the men appeared to be satisfied with the conditions. (6)

Complaints about the men and by the men in the camps began early. On the 4th of May, A.B.Closure, a merchant in Sicamous, wrote a letter to S.R.Noble, the Sugar Controller, complaining that the men in the camps were not under sugar rationing and the white cooks seemed to not be aware of any rationing. He also complained that the Japanese married men were being paid 50¢ per hour, while the vets on guard were only getting 40¢ per hour regardless of status. Closure's letter eventually arrived at Wardle's desk, and on the 13th, he replied to Noble. The camp men were under the same ration as civilians, 12 ounces per week. It was possible that the cooks might not know about the ration, because sugar was ordered by the per capita allowance. As for the wages, all men were being paid 25¢ per hour. (30) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 2., for complete text of Closure's letter)

On the 15th of May, "Kaz", in Unit #1, at Solsqua wrote to H.U. in Vancouver. The letter was intercepted by the Censors and the excerpt follows: *"We were supposed to get our pay on the 9th and*

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they extended it to today but we didn't get it. Some of them say that they're not going to work, but if they don't they don't eat so I guess it's best to work. The timekeeper up here is pretty rotten and it's pretty tough on us if you ask me we're treated worse than the guys in the immigration. Before we came up here we were told that we could go any place and do anything but they went back on their words". The letter was in English, and it was released. (18)

On the 18th, "Tosh" from the same unit wrote in English to Y.M. in Vancouver. Censor's excerpt: *"This morning we sure did have a row down here, they even called the Mounties. Well here's how it happened. The timekeeper promised us he'll give us our time on Saturday because everybody's pay was different and he kept putting it off. Chick Kuwabara and another guy represented us and went to the timekeeper and they went into an argument. The foreman came along and he said he'll put the ringleaders behind bars, so we went to call everybody from work and waited till the Mounties came. They finally came about 10.00 AM and heard both sides, and I think he gave hell to the white foreman and timekeeper. Boy, they sure have to treat us good now, because we got the Mounties with us". The letter was released. (18)*

This did not settle the issue of the confrontation, because on the 20th, T.H. of the same unit wrote to M.Y. in Vancouver essentially repeating the above, but adding: *"Then after we came to eat our dinner and going back to work, we noticed that three of our young guy in committee was going with the Mountie. We thought that since there was a First-Aid man (his license expired) going to" (Author's note: words missing.) "we thought that they were going to Vernon for First Aid examination and to talked to the head of the Mountie about the situation here. Well 1 day 2 day passed so 3rd we got impation and asked why they were detained. Then the foreman said they were held (he never said exactly but said adjectating) for disturbing peace. Well the Mountie gonna come up tomorrow and we all gonna demand that 3 men should be sent back if not well if those 3 men get intern on account of our blame we all decided to get intern (young and old we backing up this policy) so if we do ask the Mountie tomorrow and refused will be we might refuse to work". (18)*

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The Censor noted that there were three other letters mailed to individuals in Vancouver dealing with the same matter. There was no indication whether the letter was released or not.

The unrest in the camp at Solsqua eventually came to Wardle's attention. In the first three weeks of May a total of ten letters were directed to his attention from the Labour Department. He asked Mills to wire Walker to immediately investigate the Camp and the complaints from the various letters, which Wardle summarized as:

"Wages for April had not been received up to May 15;

The food had become very bad and while there was apparently lots of meat in the meat-house it does not reach the table;

The Timekeeper's helper is a Japanese and is no good and is accused of faking the men's time;

The Timekeeper is incompetent and seems to be adjusting rates of wages to suit himself;

Practically all the food served is canned stuff".

Wardle also attached another excerpt from a letter which referred to the Japanese timekeeper who apparently was not particularly liked by the workers. This man resigned when all the trouble erupted.

Assistant Supervising Engineer Tiller, reported on the problems at Solsqua on June 11th. His report stated that with the three men removed from the camp, he believed that there would be more harmony among the camp members. As for the food, he wrote: *"The camp is being supplied with the best meat and groceries obtainable on the market. The catering staff consists of white head cook, Japanese first and assistant cooks, and six flunkies. The Japanese and whites have eaten in the same dining room and at times, numerous Japanese were mixed in with the whites at the same table. This system is still in operation and it might also be added that individuals, who have had a meal at this camp have invariably commented favourably on the quality, quantity and tastiness of the food.*

The remark regarding the members of one family are not entirely understood. It has been the policy, wherever possible, to pick out

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Japanese who appear as leaders and speak good English, to act as liaison between key men and Japanese. The reference may be to one such person. This policy has been found to work very satisfactorily".

On the 24th of May, M. M. at the Government Camp, Craigellachie, BC, wrote to Y.H. in Vancouver. The Censor intercepted the letter and noted: *"Sender writes about trouble in above camp. It appears that the detainees dislike their foreman and their cook, and Sender states that foreman fired four cook's helpers without reason and then asked the other detainees to help but they refused and so were given no breakfast or lunch and they refused to work without food. The same afternoon the R.C.M.P. came to inquire into the trouble and, says the Sender, were told by the detainees that they could not work without food but that if the cook and foreman were fired they would go to work. The cook was fired but not the foreman.*

Next day the police came to take away three men to an internment camp. All the detainees 52 in number, protested and said that, in that case, all 52 should go. Finally the police left without taking the three men. Sender concludes with 'Not bad, eh'". Letter was released. (18)

On the same day, S. M. wrote to Thomas Shoyama at the JCCC office in Vancouver. The Censor comments: *"The writer begins: -'Dear Thomas, Urgent. Details of trouble given below. You have some information from J. and S. H.'*

The body of the letter sets out in three sheets of tabulated concise statements, the writer's report on the origin and development of complaint and trouble in the Japanese work camp at Solsqua, B.C. The trouble apparently began on Saturday, May 16th when men working together on the same job received different pay, and suspected and accused the Japanese timekeeper of being crooked, and demanded to see the wage-scale and time book. The information demanded was presumably not satisfactorily given, and as the workers adopted a persistent attitude in their demands, the police were called, and after discussion with the workers committee, they took three men away, and later the men in the camp were informed that the three had been detained as

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non-workers or agitators and taken to Vancouver before the Security Commission. The men in the camp then sent a telegram to the Security Commission, and an explanatory letter signed by everyone in the camp.

The writer concludes:- 'My personal opinion. Japanese time-keeper his brother and Mr. T. (latter two in the committee) want to run the whole show at this camp. In order to strengthen their position, they may have given false charges to the R.C.M.P. through the foreman.

Try hard to release three men with help of Kika-jin-kai (Naturalized Japanese Association) and JCCC executives. There will be trouble if three men not released.'

Yours

S. M.". (18)

There were two letters from "Mas" on the same incident. The first to his wife in Slocan on May 25th. The Censor's comments: *"Letter from husband to wife. Writer seems to be of good character, and his remarks as quoted below, may be accepted as a good indication of the state of affairs in the camp. His opinion of 'Min' (see C.11. of even date) would show the latter to be an undesirable element. 'This Min sure is a very queer duck ... This trouble we had at camp and the Issei committee has left the Niseis to look after ourselves and never mind the others that were taken away and Min has moved in with the crooked isseis. There's so much double crossing going on here. ... This job in the committee is no cinch because it takes up so much time and the issei double crossers are trying to make me the goat now'".*

The second letter was written to Mr. G. S. at Sandon, B.C. on the 27th. Censor's excerpt: *"My election into the committee is nothing to rejoice about because three men were taken away to Vancouver as agitators and I don't see how I escaped going along with them. ... we had a dispute about the rate of pay and wage classification and Chick continued the argument until the police was called and we voted by show of hands to support him as our spokesman and not as an agitator and whatever he said was for all of us. ... we talked with the R.C.M.P. from Vernon ... told to go back to work*

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and while they were at work the police took away T. K., R. and C. K. They are in Vancouver. Now the others the grafters, the same fellow Japanese who are getting graft money are trying to get me out too so that they can have their own say so. We are just waiting for a chance to get the evidence to present it to the proper authorities". The letters were released. (18)

The many complaints originating in the Solsqua Camp caused Wardle to write to Censor No. 259 on June 3rd advising the Censor to hold up letters from the camp because they: "*could conceivably increase present difficulties at the Coast*". This was a reference to the continuing problems with the NMEG. (18)

When Walker had complained about not receiving men along the R-S Highway Project, MacNamara had written to Mead about the delay. On the 3rd, Mead replied to the questions and comments. He gave three reasons for the delay, the first was the problems being created by the NMEG, the second the policy of not mixing Nationals and Canadians, natural or naturalized, and the last, the problem of poor net pay after the various deductions, especially for the married men. (32) (See Appendix Chapter 5, 3., for complete text)

MacNamara was the man in the middle between the Mines and Resources Department and the Commission, but he was also in all the planning for the various road projects. When the Commission decided to use the R-S project as a place to send Japanese-Canadians he wrote to Mead on the 6th as if he had no idea about the change in plans. Mead immediately replied on the 8th. These letters make interesting reading so the bodies of both are being reproduced here.

MacNamara's letter to Mead June 6th:

"Dear Commissioner:

With reference to the attached from Mr. Wardle which I am sending you by Airmail, our understanding with the Commission is that all Canadian born or naturalized Japanese were to be sent to Ontario and the arrangement with the Ontario authorities was that there would probably be 3,000 of these men to come to Ontario.

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The Mines and Resources Department naturally showing some concern when they discover that the whole set-up has been changed without any reference to the Ontario situation and, indeed, without any advice being sent here.

I judge from your recent letters and conversation with Mr. Taylor during the last day or two that the expedient of sending Canadians to the Revelstoke-Sicamous project was to meet the objection they had to going to Schreiber.

One wonders, in view of the very attractive camp at Schreiber and the fact that commercial work will be available to these men, whether there is some ulterior motive behind the refusal.

I am quite sure all members of the House of Commons would say, if these men will not go to Schreiber the best thing to do is intern them.

I am simply writing this letter to get your views and I am not questioning the action you have taken in any way because I have a full appreciation of your difficulties". (32)

Mead's reply June 8th,

"Dear Mr. MacNamara:

- 1. Replying to your letter of the 6th instant to which was attached a memorandum from Mr. Wardle in which he raises the question of certain camps being set aside for Canadian born and naturalized Japanese.*
- 2. We believe that had the Ontario authorities agreed to the families of Japanese accompanying their breadwinners we could have supplied three thousand Canadians in accordance with our original declaration, but when reports were received here about the Schreiber camp and its isolation and it began to dawn on the Japanese that the Ontario Government were not willing to have the women and children sent there the whole atmosphere changed and we found it difficult to get anyone to proceed to Ontario.*
- 3. Before the Ontario plan was thought of the Revelstoke-Sicamous project had been set aside to accommodate Canadians and when they would not volunteer for Ontario it was to this project these people were sent.*

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4. *This again brings up the question of disuniting these families which is the bone of contention that we have had to meet with as a Commission from the beginning and I personally feel that had we not had to break up families there would have been no necessity to bring the internment organization into the picture". (32)*

When Walker received a wire from Mills with the excerpts from some of the censored letters from Solsqa Camp, he immediately left for the camp to investigate and spent three to four hours at the camp on the 5th, investigating the various complaints with Tiller.

He wrote a two page report to Mills on the 10th, in which he refuted all the complaints except the one of late delivery of pay cheques. He ended his report with the following paragraphs:

"Summing up my conclusions re complaints from this camp I would state, very definitely, that the foreman is thoroughly competent; the timekeeper is both efficient and competent, the cooking staff in this camp is, if anything, above the average cooking staff in our Japanese camps. There is, therefore, no reason whatsoever for justifiable complaints.

In discussions with various key officials on this investigation it appears that some nine (9) young Canadian born Japanese in this camp have, ever since their arrival, been intent on stirring up trouble. They have not definitely refused to work, but although they go out to work when called, they simply loaf on the job and pay no attention whatsoever to instructions as given by their straw boss. Several of the older Japanese, who can speak English, told me that they were quite content with conditions at this camp, and had no complaint to make, except for the actions of the nine (9) young Japanese as mentioned above. These elderly Japanese were under the impression that if these nine trouble-makers were removed from camp things would run smoothly. They had no complaint whatever to make as against the foreman, timekeeper, or the cooking staff. The names of the nine as referred to are as follows:"

(Author's note: the nine names are being omitted for privacy reasons. No one mentioned in the censored letters was on Walker's list including the three who were taken to Vancouver as agitators.)

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Walker ended his letter with: *"It appears to me, therefore, that this is nothing more nor less than a concerted effort to cause trouble whenever possible by certain malcontents who have no desire or intention of establishing themselves as permanent residents of any camp."*

I would suggest that the men as named above be removed from camp and sent to an internment camp or elsewhere". (18)

Wardle sent a copy of Walker's report to MacNamara for his information and action. The men were arrested and held for internment, but the Commission had no knowledge of why the men were to be interned and wrote to the O/C, RCMP in Vancouver, stating: *"Our latest reports from the Solsqua camp state that everything is peaceful and quiet. I understand your reports from that area also of a similar nature. This being the case, we are not in a position to give our consent for the issuing of the necessary order for the detention of these people and would appreciate if we could be advised as to what is the reason for this action".*

By the 24th, the Commission had received a petition signed by all the men in the camp, and the Foreman and Timekeeper as well, protesting the action of internment for the nine men. This action by the men and the key men in the camp of course surprised Wardle, and Walker was quickly asked on June 29th to explain what was happening.

Walker replied on the 3rd of July: *"Subsequent to my report tenth ultimo attitude of nine men reported for removal improved greatly STOP Part of trouble due to misunderstanding on part of key men, thus causing deliberate malingering on part of men reported upon STOP Officials Solsqua Camp have no objection these Japs returning to this camp if they so desire STOP I consider action taken will have good salutary effect for disciplinary purposes STOP*

Air mail letter following STOP"

His written report of the 6th included further information which had been obtained by Tiller with the assistance of Reverend McWilliams, a United Church Minister from Revelstoke, who

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

could speak Japanese. There was a group of men, brothers and relatives, who had come to the camp in the first group, who spoke good English and who had ingratiated themselves to the camp Foreman and the Timekeeper by being very helpful in the establishment and maintenance of the camp. This resulted in this particular group of men being assigned special jobs with a slightly higher rate of pay thereby causing resentment on the part of the rest of the men in the camp. Apparently, before the nine men were removed from the camp, Tiller and the keymen realized the problem they had created in the camp, and placed this group of men back into the ordinary labour pool, with the result that the morale in the camp was immediately raised, according to his report. He closed by stating that Tiller and the key men would have no objection to the nine men being returned to camp. (32)

With Walker's explanations about the turn-around with respect to the nine men he had originally recommended for internment, Wardle wrote to MacNamara on July 8th and said that the nine men shouldn't be interned, but given another chance in a camp other than Solsqua.

This incident illustrates the problems both the Exiles and their keepers had in understanding each other and in developing a reasonable relationship in the various camps along the Road Camp Projects. Internment was a big club that the authorities could wield capriciously!

The feelings of some of the men in the camps might be illustrated by a letter from the Taft camp. T.M., from Unit No.3, wrote on the 5th of June to S. M., in Kaslo, the excerpt follows: *"What the hell do they have to examine the letters anyway, when we are out of the defence zone? Those guys are cuckoo telling us once we are out of the protected area we can have radios, cameras, and no curfew and all that rot. Why we might just as well stay at the coast for all the baloney they've been telling us. Mas hasn't got his camera yet. I don't think they will ever give it back.*

I haven't even got a lamp, can't get more. All the boys that came with me haven't got any yet. And the bath isn't finished yet". (18)

"The N.C." June 10th,

"Editor, *The New Canadian*

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Dear Sir: We reached Taft at 8 a.m. June 2. Then after a brief respite, we were taken on a truck to the newly established camp at Griffin Lake. This place is located midway between Taft and Three Valley about 4 miles distant from both points; and sixteen miles from Revelstoke. Located in a beautiful scenic valley, our camp has a train running at the back, and fine mountains towering on three sides.

The next day all the men in the camp, including nearly forty who came here yesterday and about fifteen other earlier arrivals went out early in the morning despite the downpour of rain and cleaned the areas adjacent to the camp.

There is a crude 'nihon-buro' here. The refreshing feeling we enjoy when we take a bath after supper following a day's work makes us fresh as if we are more than an ordinary being. However, the thought of our families is still our worry.

In our camp too, there are many Niseis. Their high spirits seem to rejuvenate us older folk. Camps at Taft and Three Valley already have committees which are beginning to realize their objectives of promoting friendship and progress among the men in the camps. As yet we are without such a committee, but with the arrival of fifty more men, and when another bunkhouse is completed we expect to become organized.

Please convey my compliments to the members of the Naturalized Canadian Japanese Ass'n. and the J.C.C.C.

Griffin Lake, B.C.

Zenichi Kinoshita."

"The N.C." June 13th,

"From Ryuichi Yoshida, Unit 4, Three Valley, B.C.

We are having bad weather with two or three rainy days each week. Although it is only two weeks since we left Vancouver, it seems as if we have been living here a very long time - one week seems ages until we become accustomed to this simple, monotonous life.

Burning brush is my daily duty. All I do is to start a fire at 8 o'clock in the morning, keep it fed until 5 p.m., then eat and sleep. Such a life is intolerable, so I am thinking of taking up 'haiku'

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'Aoba taku kemuri-ni mine
(smoke from burning pine needles obscures
wa kasumikeru'.
half the mountain)

We have three softball teams here. After supper, if the weather is fine, we are able to enjoy watching the league games. A game may be played with an occidental team from Revelstoke soon. Watching softball games, taking a look at the baby pigs and going to sleep is our daily routine.

'Kuruma hashiru michibeni
(cars run on the roadside
butano kakoi-ari'
beside the fenced in pigs)

I often wonder if there is much difference between these little pigs in the pen and the life led by us who say that the work is easy, the food is good, and consequently feel contented.

'Kobutayo koi nanjino dorui
(come baby pig your friend
kokoniari'.
is here)

* * * *

One of the pleasant things about camp life is that everyone whether he be old or young, strong or weak, is regarded as equal. Because of this fact, it is extremely peaceful here; but since we find no hope in this form of life and are unable to see beautiful women here, spirit and charm are lacking in our life. Unfortunately there is no way of alleviating this condition here other than through participation in music and 'haiku'.

'Onnanashi sakenashi tada
(no women no wine only
manzanno midorikana'
fully green mountains)

*Kindly give my best regards to the members of the
Naturalized Japanese Canadian Ass'n. and the J.C.C.C."*

With all the problems with the men in the camps on the R-S Project, Wardle wrote a memo on the 15th, to his Deputy Minister

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including extracts from intercepted letters, presumably to inform him and to explain the Department's position with respect to the complaints. His memo ends with the comment: *"We are advised that the men at the Solsqua Camp and at other camps on the R-S project are Canadian born Japanese, who preferred to go to highway camps in British Columbia rather than to agricultural work in Ontario".* (18)

"The N.C." June 27th, *"Camp Morale Is Sagging*

... 'The people on the farms are happy in their work in spite of their low returns and the toil necessary for it,' he (Mr. McWilliams) said.

Mr. McWilliams (former pastor of the New Westminster Japanese United Church) felt however that the very opposite was true in the work camps in the Revelstoke - Sicamous section which he visited. 'It is not a question of physical comfort, nor of anything which you can name and put your finger on,' he declared. 'Rather it is a question of morale, and we must try to provide the men with something constructive to think about. But morale is sagging lower every day, one feels that, as soon as one enters the camp.'"

"The N.C." July 1st, *"Baseball, Gardens and Committees*
Keep Men in Road Camp Busy *by Z. Kinoshita*

Griffin Lake, B.C.- A temporary committee was organized here with the fellowship and comfort of the men in the camp as its main concern. It is expected that a formal election will be held soon, when the arrival of men is complete. Acting on the committee at present are Fumakichi Fujimagari and Taskeji Takamoto from the naturalized group, and Keizo Hayashi and Mitsuo Okawa, representing the Nisei.

A vegetable garden has been made near our camp and in it have been planted cabbage, lettuce, peas and other seeds. Some space has been set aside, too, for sweet peas. Several days ago they began to sprout and now watching their steady growth day by day gives us much pleasure. There is some doubt however as to how they will turn out, since the soil here does not seem to be very good.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Some men spend their leisure hours looking for wild flowers among the brush and trees and transplanting these to the camp garden.

Being hungry for news, we all wait for the arrival of The New Canadian. There is some talk, too, in this camp of purchasing a long wave radio."

The resentment a local resident J.S., of Malakwa, had to the presence of the Japanese workmen and the work that the authorities decided to do on the R-S highway can be seen in extracts from a letter which he wrote to his MP, A.B. Green, on July 1st.

"Apparently the powers that be want these Japanese road camps run as rest houses for the Japs, as wherever and whenever one goes by, Japs by the dozen sit and take it easy, and if you are interested in economy for the Dominion and Province as well, you should be acquainted with the damnable waste of money that is going on at present in trying to build this road between Malakwa and Sicamous.

As I have pointed out so often a shorter better and cheaper road can be built on the north of C.P.R. cutting the distance about in half and with very little rock work, no bridges, no fills and an early opening in the spring.

As it is now, there is rock work of an immense proportion and fills without end, and as one road foreman says the road won't be finished this year nor the next either, but still the spending goes on". (30)

These extracts of course ended up on Wardle's desk, and eventually with Walker who replied on Aug. 8th. As far as he was concerned, the location of the road was the responsibility of the Province. His comment on the work of the men was: "... *there is no doubt that we are not getting 100% efficiency out of Japanese efficiency. We never expected it and never will get it. We are, however, obtaining possible 30% to 40% efficiency. As I understand it, efficiency however, was not the chief requisite in establishing Japanese camps. It was and is a condition to be desired, but under the circumstances such condition cannot be*

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expected". He went on to say: "It is true that various newspapers in Vancouver, Kamloops and Revelstoke have, in recent weeks, given very eulogistic reports on our progress in various sections of British Columbia. To a large extent I think these reports have been inspired for political purposes, and although I agree that considerable progress is being made on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project, such progress is, in the main part, due to the presence on this project of considerable heavy road construction machinery which is operated by white labour. The progress cannot be placed to the credit of the Japanese, although at the same time I might add the Japanese are doing very creditable work on clearing, grubbing and trimming of slopes. I have nothing further to add in connection with this matter". (31)

Another letter, written on July 21st by R.A.L., went to MacNamara from the office of the Minister of Naval Service. Paragraph 4 of his letter read: *"Read the attached news clipping, Then consider that paralleling this roadwork between Revelstoke and Sicamous, on the C.P.R., is the Columbia River Bridge, largest in the railway belt, the 3 Clan Williams tunnels, Three Valley Bridge and Sicamous bridge. As a Naval man can you think of anything more stupid than placing Hirohito's officers and men there. I doubt whether Hirohito himself could improve upon the setup of the Japanese in the Railway Belt from Hope to Banff over that allowed by the Government of Canada".* This extract is illustrative of the paranoia which existed among many of the residents of the Province.

(30)

*"The N.C." July 4th, "Griffin Lake Men Enjoy Social Evening
by Robert Oikawa*

Griffin Lake, B.C. - At present there are fifty-one of us in camp here ranging in age from 16 to 58. Fourteen are naturalized Canadians and the rest are Canadian-born.

The lake itself is but a few minutes walk from the camp. Having the privilege of using three boats owned by a Revelstoke resident we can go boating or swimming in the clear cold water.

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South of the camp lies a group of snow-capped mountains, which were described as 'unconquerable' by the natives. But four of our boys, undaunted, scaled the rugged heights and returned with a kit filled with snow as evidence of their climb in mid-summer.

Each week twelve of us are allowed to visit Revelstoke, where we are well received. We are permitted to stay and take in a show. Several families are residing there.

Social Evening

On the evening of June 27, a 'shin-boku-kai' or social evening was held with Z.Kinoshita, as the M.C. The foreman, staff and guards were invited. Highlight of the evening's entertainment were musicals and solos. The Steveston lads, not to be outdone, brought roars of applause with their versions of Japanese lyrics.

Work at this camp consists of clearing brush and trees along the proposed right of way, some unfinished work of clearing and building around the camp, and everyday chores such as cutting wood, janitor duty, helping the cooks and so forth."

*"The N.C." July 4th, "Malakwa mauls many murderous
mosquitoes by Frank Moritsugu*

Yard Creek, B.C. - Brushing aside swarms of mosquitoes which are of a very bloodthirsty variety, this correspondent will try to give you belated news of what's happening at the No. 2 Camp at Yard Creek. Our camp was first called Cambie Siding - - - at which place we stayed until a month ago in bunk cars. - - - then we moved here, Yard Creek, which is 3 to 4 miles east of Cambie.

Our camp is just on the railway by a roaring creek after which it is named. We have running water for two or three weeks now and any day we hope to have hot running water in the kitchen. Our work like the other camps in the Revelstoke - Sicamous area, consists of widening the narrow at present two-car wide highway. In achieving this, the young and old workers are engaged in clearing brush and burning it and felling the bigger trees which are sawed into firewood.

So much for work. Our recreation time is filled in with the usual card games, 'gaji', 'shogi', 'go' and listening to the radios (of

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which there are at present five), making articles out of birch-bark and most important of all trying to kill mosquitoes and scratch the various bites which one is sure to get. Most of us have never seen or rather felt so big and so many mosquitoes as they have here. Recently they have become so bad it is almost impossible to sit still in any one position for two minutes.

Mosquito nets, ointments and mosquito repellents are being bought in such amounts that the storekeeper at Malakwa should be able to retire soon if this mosquito epidemic keeps up. God forbid! On Sundays we have the one thing that keeps us going. That is the weekly baseball game with Solsqua, the nearest camp (over 7 miles away) at the Cambie ball-grounds. Although at first we suffered defeat after defeat at our rivals hands, the last three Sundays after our acquiring a couple of good pitchers, and a well balanced team, we have successfully trounced them 6-5, 7-4, 4-2. We are planning to have an old men's team versus young men's game in the near future. With ex-Asahi players on the veteran's team and aces from the Island, Woodfibre, and Britannia on the younger team it should be an interesting tilt.

Three or four weeks ago, a group of twelve members of the camp left for Chatham, Ontario. They had volunteered to work on sugar beets. They were H. Takeda, Tstomu Uno, Kiyoshi Tatsumi, Y. Ki?saka, Kaz Uesugi, Yoshimi Ko?ni, Doug Uchida, Masaji Kondo, Dick Higaki, Jimmy Koyama, and Shigeru Mizuno.

We had a 'sobetsukai' in the dining hall the night before they left, and under the capable chairmanship of popular 'Blackie' Sekine speeches in Japanese and English were made, several songs gave forth and after feasting on a spread on which the two cooks (whom we think are the best around here) did themselves proud and with Hotaru-no-?kari or Auld Lang Syne we bade them farewell and wished them luck.

One of the group who went, Shigeru Mizuno, formerly of Steveston and well known as a singer of popular Japanese songs at concerts here and there, was asked the night before the farewell party to give a concert. After hearing his 'Nani wa bushi' beautifully rendered, most of the older men had tears in their eyes and even a swing addict like yours truly went overboard on his vocalizing.

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There was even talk of 'shanghai' ing him so that he couldn't go to Ontario.

We have a fast growing menagerie here which is at present populated with five rabbits, four of which are quadruplets, and two chipmunks. Then there are two white kittens residing in the kitchen since two or three days ago which bid fair to be the fattest and most petted kittens anywhere.

We are allowed a certain amount of freedom and the numerous camp rules are not too rigorously enforced more or less due to the very good conduct of our camp so far.

The camps around here each have a certain day when members are allowed to visit Revelstoke and as our day is Saturday it is said that we are the envy of the other camps. (Because Revelstoke is not much of a town, the Saturday matinee at the movie palace just fills in right.)

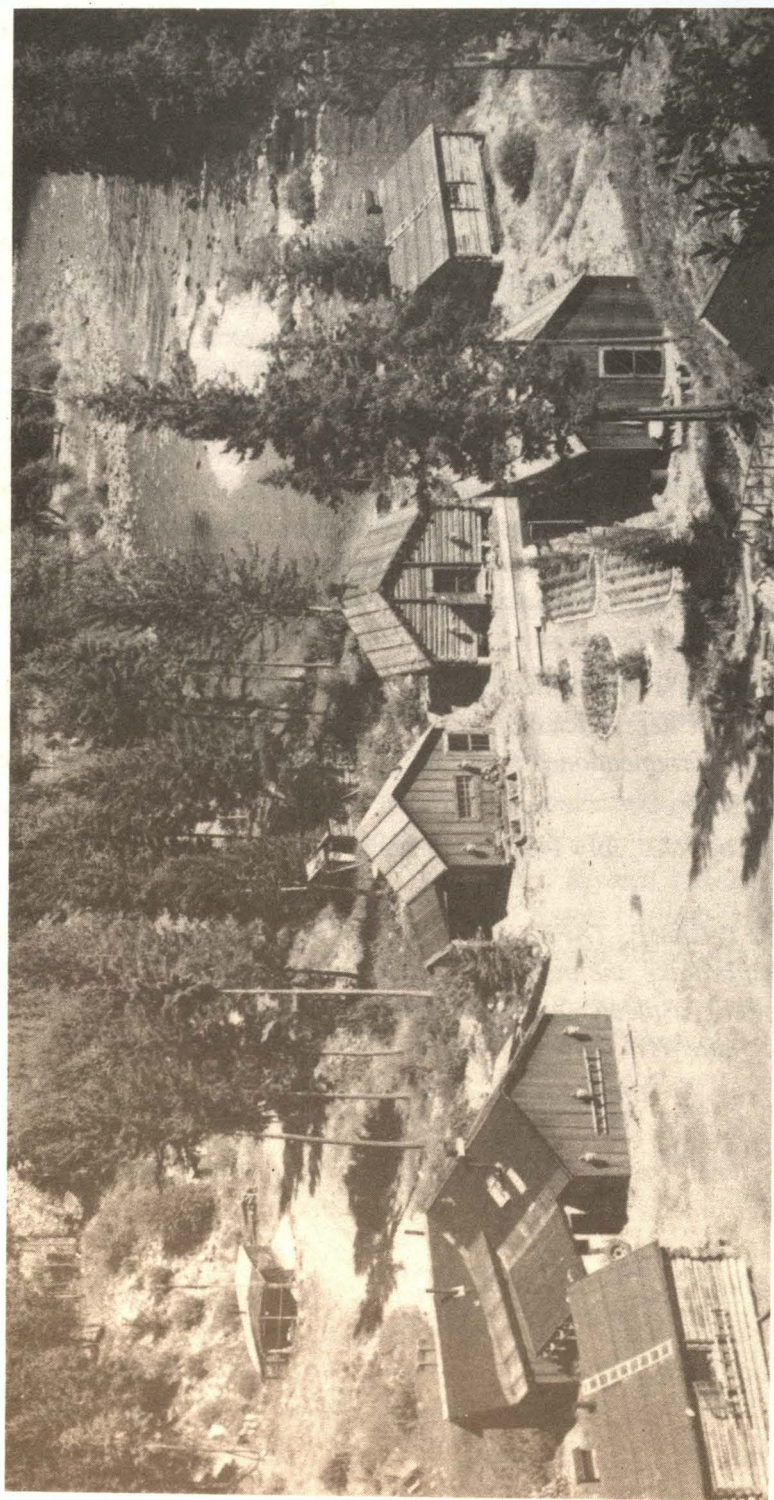
All in all we are having a rather uneventful, but not too bad an existence here. Lack of a bath-house (to be completed ???) and this much aforementioned mosquito plague are the only things which bother us."

*"The N.C." July 14th, "Morale at 100 Percent in Taft
Camp by Edward R. Ide*

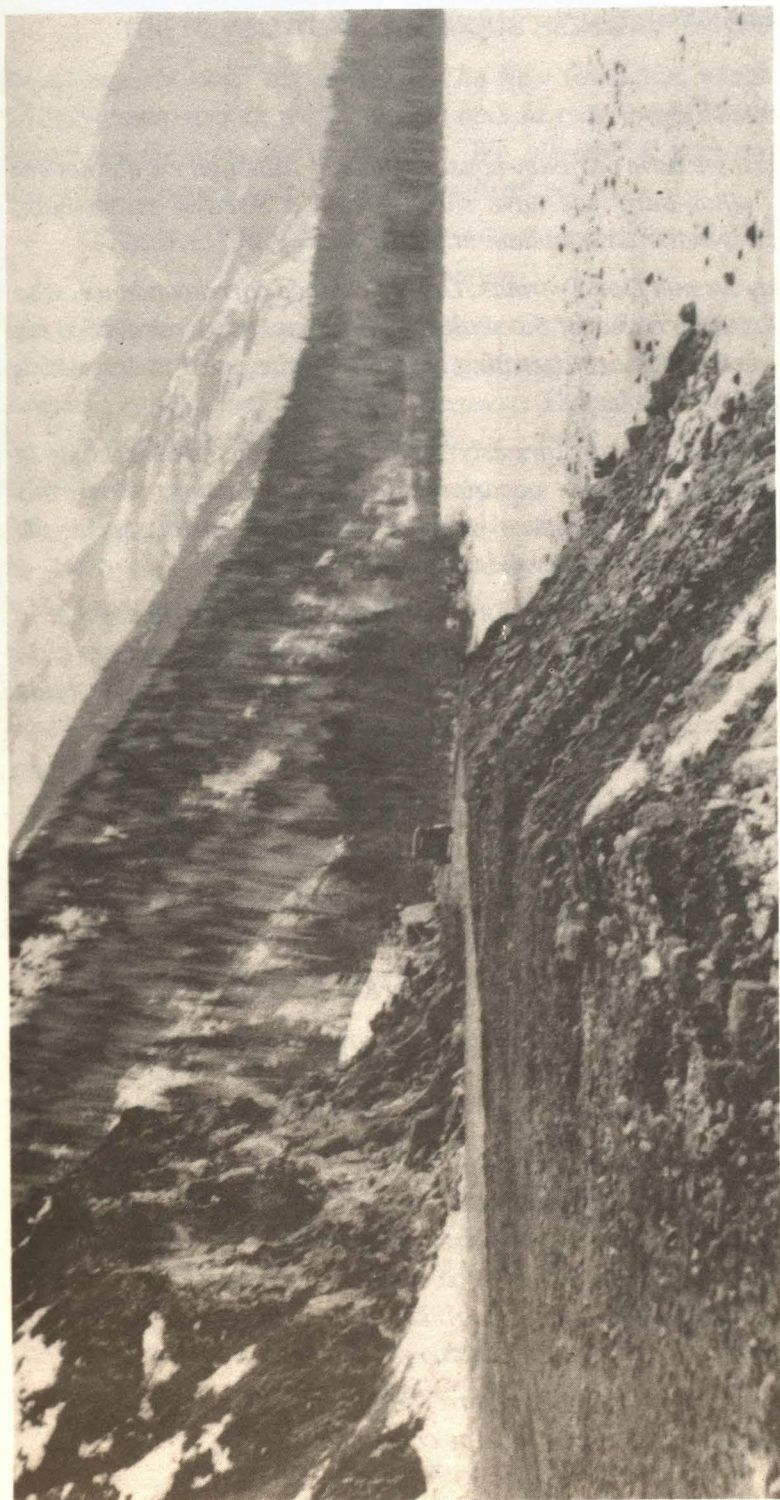
TAFT CAMP, TAFT, B.C. - With friends from North Fork and Griffin Lake, the men of Taft camp celebrated Dominion Day by holding a picnic at a beautiful spot named Kay Falls, about a half-mile from the camp-site.

Hot dogs! Hamburgers (without onions)! Pop! Ice Cream! Come and get it! Lunch was being served and what a mad scramble for the lunch counter. We had plenty to eat, the favorite being the rare 'nigiri-meshi' (rice balls) which the mess boys had prepared for us.

We did have a sports program all lined up, but owing to the intense heat and with a cool looking stream running close by, the races were postponed, while most of the boys jumped in for a dip. Some of the older folk present were content to sit in the shade and talk of old times and of the present situation.



Yard Creek Camp Feb. 6, 1943 (Credit: Public Archives of Canada, C137837)



Widened grade at Griffin Lake Feb. 17, 1943 (Credit: Public Archives of Canada, C137835)

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...

Morale High

At last we have our bath-house complete! Although we did not get our 'nihon-buro' we have showers and a Swedish steam bath, which is better than no bath at all.

Today we met Don Tyerman, Daily Province correspondence, who has been on a tour of the settlements and camps. According to his account, things are operating smoothly in the ghost towns, which is good news indeed.

The Rev.K.Nomoto, formerly of Steveston, but now residing in Revelstoke,makes the occasional trips to the camps along this project, and I can assure you that the morale in this camp, the spirit of both young and old is one hundred percent.

At present there are certain restrictions, but we anticipate that in due course they will soon be removed. There are grievances also, but we intend to settle these among ourselves, and co-operation with the authorities in charge should be able to solve any problem that may arise.

This is the time when we should 'grin and bear it' and show the people of Canada that we are true loyal Canadians.

The men in this camp send to one and all the very best of luck and good health."

"The N.C." July 18th,

"by Kiyomi Shimizu

North Fork, B.C. - Midsummer has now arrived in North Fork in the Revelstoke-Sicamous section and the men are becoming accustomed to the scorching rays of the sun.

We are all working here with light hearts. We are well-provided and feel little inconvenience since our daily necessities and other essentials are easily secured from Revelstoke. Food and tableware are all of good quality and excellent drinking water is available from a nearby stream. Our drinking water, in fact, is a source of considerable pride in this camp.

As yet we have no 'nihon-buro' because of the lack of materials. We expect that one will soon be constructed.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

We all eagerly await the arrival of The New Canadian, which is the only newspaper in which we are able to read comprehensive reports on the Japanese evacuation. We all read it with much pleasure and hope for its continued publication."

"The N.C." July 22nd, "Revelstoke Camps to Remain in Operation

Revelstoke.- In a communication to the Revelstoke Board of Trade, labor minister Humphrey Mitchell said that in all probability Japanese road camps along the Sicamous-Revelstoke section of the Trans-Canada highway would not be closed until completion of the work.

His communication replied to a Revelstoke resolution commending the authorities for the work being done by the road camps, and requesting that the camps remain open for the duration.

This was passed Monday night by a joint meeting of the senior and junior boards of trade, City Council and Canadian Legion. These groups met 'on the basis of unofficial reports that changes in the road camp set-up are contemplated because of criticism expressed in the House of Commons and from other quarters.'

The seven camps in this section Solsqua, Yard Creek, North Fork, Craigallachie, Taft, Griffin Lake and Three Valley employ some 500 Canadian-born and naturalized citizens."

*"The N.C." July 29th, "North Fork Men Move To Griffin Lake
by Robert Oikawa*

Griffin Lake, B.C. - Closure of the North Fork camp on the Revelstoke-Sicamous highway, and the transfer of the men to Griffin Lake was in effect over the week-end.

Thirty-five of the fifty-one men at North Fork arrived here Friday and it is expected that the rest will be transferred as soon as the work of dismantling the tent-houses and the rest of the camp is completed.

*Mail for these men, formerly received at Craigellachie and Taft should now be addressed, **GRIFFIN LAKE**, via **THREE VALLEY, B.C.** to avoid delay."*

"The N.C." August 1st, "Baby Deer Camp Mascot

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Solsqua Camp Proud of Its Morale

Solsqua. - An inter-camp basketball loop has been formed along the Revelstoke-Sicamous section, with three teams battling it out with vim and vigour, much to the delight of the older men who are becoming rabid fans. The court here was built after working hours, with many fellows digging in for two weeks to produce an excellent set-up.

* * * *

A recent issue of The New Canadian made reference to the low morale in the camps here. Since then, better understanding has been cultivated in Solsqua, with the result that spirits are high here, especially among the younger fellows who are developing a true 'esprit de corps'. One handicap is the poorest food in the whole section, but not withstanding, morale here in Solsqua is really good.

* * * *

The camp has adopted a baby deer as its official mascot. Over a month ago, two of the boys found him and brought him to the camp. Nearly the size of a terrier, he has very long ears, slender legs, and a fawn-coloured coat, with rows of white spots. Within a few days of his adoption he was following the boys all over the camp. Jumping, graceful Frenchie, as he is dubbed, can certainly go up the mountainside with ease on his frisky, rubbery legs.

* * * *

With the merury hovering close to the 100 degree mark, this section of B.C. has been in the midst of a heat spell for the past four weeks. Compared to this, the coast at its hottest, is really mild.

Fortunately our 'nihon-buro' was completed before this hot weather. Measuring five by eleven feet ten fellows can relax in it at one time. One of the older men has the job of preparing it, so that the first thing done after a hard day's work is to slip into its warm waters and wash away all the vexations of the day and troubles of the heart."

*"The N.C." August 19th, "From Three Valley
Co-operative Efforts Build Facilities By T.M.*

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

THREE VALLEY, B.C. - Close co-operation among all the men both young and old, coupled with discipline and a wish to make this a model camp, has resulted in the completion of various facilities for the benefit and convenience of all the workers here.

In front of our camp a lovely flower garden has been built through the efforts of Messrs. Takayesu, and Miyasaka. A Japanese 'torii' (Shinto shrine archway) and a 'niju-bashi' (twin arched bridge) are two of its novel features, and the words 'Three Valley, B.C.' marked out in white pebbles are a distinctive decoration. The fragrant wild flowers blooming in multi-colors are a source of great comfort to us who lead this simple life in the woods.

The vegetable garden, too, is doing very well. In fact, it is yielding a harvest more abundant than we can consume, so that some of the produce is being distributed to other camps.

In the kitchen Mr. Shimizu, our chief Japanese cook, puts into full use a culinary skill born of long years of experience while the carpenters including Messrs. Takada, Tani, Fujishita and Onodera have built a fine 'nihon-buro' (Japanese bath), comparable to those on Powell Street. Here we restore ease and comfort to tired bodies in the evening.

Our softball team has already played two games with a team from Taft, losing and winning one each. Enthusiasm for the game is high, and close fought battles are anticipated between the two teams in the future."

Mills wrote a memo to Wardle on the 22nd of August that the Resident Engineer of the R-S project, Tiller, commented in his monthly report that discipline and attitude to work was satisfactory through the month of July. Except for the Taft Camp, where there was a great deal of sitting on the job, the other Camps had a good attitude to work. The older men, in general, did the majority of the work. The North Fork Camp, which had been a tent camp, was being dismantled and the men were being combined with the Griffin Lake crew. Apparently this caused some friction between the younger men. One man refused to move, and requested internment. He was removed to Vancouver where he was told that he would be sent to the Slocan Valley. This man then wired a

THE EXILES

friend in the camp of the developments, which then prompted four other men to request internment as well. The RCMP officer who had taken the first man to Vancouver reported to his headquarters on the subsequent developments and pointed out that if the first man was sent to the Slocan Valley instead of to internment, the situation might get beyond the control of the Force. Subsequently, the Officer understood that the decision was revised and that in future men were not to be removed from camp for internment without the approval of headquarters. (30) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 4., for complete text of memo and RCMP report)

"The N.C." August 25th, *"Tribute Paid to Hard-Working Nisei
As Highway Grows Steadily*

Revelstoke. - The fine work that is being accomplished by the Canadian-born and naturalized citizens in the Sicamous-Revelstoke section is praised in an article by a Daily Province correspondent, Don Tyerman, who recently toured the interior towns and road camps where evacuees have been settled.

In its published report, the Province headlined its story: 'Young Canadians Work Hard' and 'Second Generation Lads Anxious to do Good Job Near Revelstoke'.

'The 500 Japanese workmen in six road camps are transforming a 50-mile stretch of road into a wide scenic highway,' declares the correspondent in his report.

Work Accomplished

'Immediately evident to the traveller between Three Valley, some twenty miles west of Revelstoke, and Taft is work already accomplished and other major projects in the process of development.

Under direction of E.P. Tiller, resident engineer, four huge power shovels, bulldozers, caterpillar tractors, rotary scrapers and trucks are gouging cuts and making hills through this valley.

The labor is Japanese with the exception of camp foremen and such skilled workmen as shovel operators and caterpillar tractor drivers.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Some of the most expert truck drivers are Japanese boys. Others have been given the chance to handle the 'cats'. As they become experienced, it is possible for them to take on more responsible jobs."

"The N.C." August 26th, "All Husbands Leave Road
Camps Work at Building At New Denver, Hope;
Join Families Later By Robert Oikawa

Griffin Lake, B.C. - All married men in the five camps on the Revelstoke-Sicamous highway project were transferred to construction work at New Denver and the newly established village of Tashme over the past week-end.

The announcement that the transfer would be made was given to the men in the camps last Thursday, August 20, by Jack A.Tyrwhitt, representing the Security Commission, who visited the camps.

About 140 men out of a total of over 500 employed on the road project were affected. Half were sent to New Denver the remainder to Tashme.

The men will be engaged in construction work, building more of the housing units as the tempo of this program is being steadily stepped-up. Later, as soon as the construction is completed, they will rejoin their families in whichever evacuation town they have been settled.

It is thought that this will require about two months time, with evacuation scheduled to be completed by the end of October."

H.K. of the Griffin Lake Camp at Three Valley wrote to L. N. in Welling, Alberta, on the 3rd of September. The Censor commented on the letter: "Camp is known as a 'trouble making camp'. It consists of a gang of tough boys who had many clashes with the foreman. Excerpt: 'All of us got together and thought we will fire the foreman, besides he was drunk too and nobody is supposed to drink in the camp. After some arguments with the R.C.M.P., the latter agreed with the fact that the foreman was drunk and promised to report it to the road superintendent. The foreman got a holiday on Wednesday last ... and did not come back till Sunday. Well he was still drunk ... Today the foreman was

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sleeping all day due to drinking and at supper time he packed and left". (18)

This letter, of course, landed on Wardle's desk and he wrote a memo to Mills, on the 9th, to get a report on the matter.

Tiller replied to the request for information from Wardle on the 1st of Oct. Mr. Raye, the foreman, was discharged for drunkenness on Aug.4th. When Tiller visited the Griffin Lake Camp on Sept.21st, he called the North Fork men together and threatened them with removal from the camp if there was any more trouble from them. He finished his letter by stating: *"This has had a salutary effect and they have been working satisfactorily". (18) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 5., for complete text.)*

"The N.C." September 16th, "By Staff Correspondent

Revelstoke. - At the request of the North Okanagan Security Commission one hundred volunteers left the camps on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project Tuesday to assist in the harvesting of the expected record-breaking apple crop at the Coldstream Ranch near Vernon.

Of this number 11 were from Solsqua, 25 from Griffin Lake, and 21 from Yard Creek, 15 from Taft and 29 from Three Valley. They volunteered for the work in response to an appeal from the Okanagan Committee.

After four to six weeks work, it is indicated that the men will return to their respective camps.

They will work in crews in the apple orchards, and will provide their own cooking arrangements. Chief hope of the men is that they will be able to enjoy somewhat more personal freedom than is the case in the road camps."

Some men in the Taft Camp appeared to be reluctant workers and created much frustration for the Project Engineers and consternation on the part of the Commission. On the 5th of October, Tiller wrote to Eastwood, of the Commission, and asked for the removal from camp of five men who in his words: *"... are determined not to co-operate, nor do any work. We have tried ... talking to them and by docking their pay, but without effect. ... The*

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Foreman and Timekeeper have complained on several occasions ... The other Japanese refuse to work with this group. "

The Commission acted on Tiller's request and removed four of the five men named by him. This resulted in a telegram to the Commission from the men in the Taft Camp protesting the action. The telegram said in part: *"WE BELIEVE THIS CHARGE TO BE UNJUST AND CONTRARY TO OUR BELIEF STOP FOLLOWING IS FEW OF OUR REASONS MR. MACLEOD OUR HEAD FOREMAN AGREES TO GIVE THESE BOYS ANOTHER CHANCE BUT MR. WILSON OUR TIMEKEEPER REFUSES TO GIVE THIS CONSENT STOP ... THE ABOVE STATEMENT CAN BE VOUCHERED FOR BY THE CONSTABLE WHO TOOK THESE BOYS STOP WILSON HAS SHOWN ON MANY OCCASIONS INTENSE FEELING OF PERSONAL DISLIKE TO THESE BOYS STOP TWO MONTHS AGO A WARNING FROM MR. Tiller WAS READ TO ALL THE EMPLOYEES OF THIS CAMP STOP SINCE THAT DAY THESE BOYS HAVE COMPLETELY CHANGED THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK STOP ... THE CONSTABLE STATED THAT RECORDS SHOW THESE BOYS HAVE BEEN WARNED NINE TIMES PREVIOUSLY BUT THIS IS NOT AUTHENTIC STOP ... MR. TILLER STATES THAT TRAVELLERS HAVE PLACED MANY COMPLAINTS AGAINST MEN LOAFING BUT THIS COMPLAINT CANNOT BE SOLELY PLACED UPON THESE FOUR BOYS STOP ... "*

A.H.Mellor, the Executive Assistant of the Commission, wrote to Tiller on the 22nd. His letter will be reproduced in its entirety here because it illustrates the situation which the Commission was facing at that time because of the many men who had been interned to that time.

"COPY

October 22, 1942.

Mr.E.P.Tiller,
Engineer in Charge,
Revelstoke-Sicamous Project,
REVELSTOKE, B.C.

Dear Sir:

THE EXILES

With regard to the four Japanese who have recently been brought in from Taft at your request I attach hereunto copy of telegram received from Japanese in the Taft work camp which you may have already seen.

It is not desired to give the impression that we are giving this telegram more credence than we have the Mounted Police report in which was incorporated the statements from yourself and from your foreman and timekeeper at Taft, but in view of the fact that these internments are becoming increasingly numerous at present and that it costs \$500 per annum to keep a man in the internment camp apart from the expense of transportation it is hoped that every endeavor will be made not to make requests for internment unless there would appear to be no other recourse whatsoever. Many Japanese nationals are deliberately refusing to obey the orders of the Commission in order to be interned and their stand in some ways can be understood but we are somewhat perturbed by the fact that young Nisei boys such as the ones referred to in this letter are also being recommended for internment.

It is of course realized here that you yourself are in a much better position to judge of these matters than we are in Vancouver and we trust therefore that when we suggest that possibly your foremen and timekeepers could perhaps by the exercise of more discretion and tact avoid these unpleasant instances it would be taken in the spirit in which it is tendered and will not be construed as an attempt to dictate to you and your men, and certainly not to indicate that we believe that there has been any neglect or omission in connection with this matter.

It is hoped, of course, that the removal of these four boys will have the effect you desire, but there is always, in view of the telegram attached, the possibility that it may cause still further trouble.

We should be very glad if you would give us your reaction to these suggestions, which are made in the friendliest spirit.

Yours very truly,

A.H.L. Mellor

Executive Assistant." (32)

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Commissioner Mead and Wardle discussed this case on the telephone and by correspondence late in October, and Wardle had Mills send all the correspondence he received from the Commission to Walker for his information and consideration. Wardle told Mead that the Mines and Resources staff would not ask for internment of men who would not work or were troublemakers, but they would insist that the Commission remove these men from the camps quickly and send them elsewhere. (32) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 6., for complete text of Wardle's letters)

Tiller in his monthly personnel report for October reported that the removal of the four men: " ... *has resulted in a decided improvement in Camp morale*".

Walker replied to Mills on the correspondence sent to him in late October and Mills sent them on to Wardle on December 17th. His comments make interesting reading so they are reproduced here. *"In reply to yours of October 30th, in which you quote from our Director's memorandum to Commissioner F.J.Mead, re Japanese in our camps, I might say that I agree heartily with the sentiments as expressed by our Director, in that where Japanese deliberately will not make any effort to do a fair day's work in our camps we should not be forced to keep such men. On the other hand of course, these men may, as they have in the past, object to going to lumber camps, in which case it is really up to the Commission to at least take such men off our hands, and **NOT** send them to other work camps under our jurisdiction.*

I further agree that the Resident Engineer in charge of any project should check up very carefully on all cases where foremen and timekeepers report to him that certain Japanese are not giving satisfactory service, or are not attempting to carry out the duties assigned to them. A number of our foremen, and other staff members are not sufficiently intelligent to form a sound judgement in many cases, and undoubtedly many of them are prejudiced against the Japanese.

I have instructed all Resident Engineers to make a personal study and inspection of all cases of malingering as reported by foremen or other staff members." (32)

THE EXILES

In the Interior Settlements there were single men both Nationals and Canadians, who came of age to be sent to the road camps. Some of them refused to go, creating a problem for the Commission. On November 5th, Taylor sent MacNamara a telegram, which is reproduced in part: "*... WE ARE FACED WITH RATHER DISTURBING SITUATION IN ONE OF OUR CAMPS WE HAVING ORDERED NUMBER OF SINGLE MEN TO ROAD CAMPS AND SOME OF THEM HAVE REFUSED TO GO STOP THIS IS CAUSING AND HAS CAUSED VERY UNPLEASANT SITUATION WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO SERIOUS TROUBLE AND WHICH WE ARE ANXIOUS TO AVOID STOP WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD CONFER WITH UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE AND ADVISE US AS TO YOUR WISHES AT SAME TIME GIVING US DEFINITE INSTRUCTIONS AS TO PROCEDURE REGARDING SINGLE MEN NATIONALS AND CANADIANS NOW IN OUR INTERIOR SETTLEMENTS STOP*" (9)

MacNamara telegraphed his reply next day, in part: "*... WE CONSIDER IT INADVISABLE TO RAISE COMPULSION ISSUE AT THIS TIME STOP ACTION SHOULD BE TO REFUSE ANY OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AT SETTLEMENTS FOR SINGLE MEN STOP*" (9)

As previously mentioned, the men of the #2 Camp at Yard Creek wrote to the Commission requesting leave during the coming winter months to visit with family and friends. Their letter is reproduced here.

* * * *

"COPY/DCM.

#2 Camp, Yard Creek,
Malakwa, B.C.
November 9th, 1942.

B.C. Security Commission,
Vancouver, B.C.

Dear Sirs,-

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

We, the members of the Yard Creek camp of the Revelstoke-Sicamous line would like your kind consideration to the following petition.

In view of the fact that we have been in this camp for a period of many months and consequently we have been separated from our families during that time and that we have complied with your request to come to this camp willingly.

We would like to ask you if it would be possible to set up a machine by which we may receive passes for short periods of time during the next few months when the weather will restrict the work somewhat so that we may visit our families when such families are in evacuation settlements or the so-called ghost towns in British Columbia.

We fully realize that if any one of us violates the privileges extended us in the event of this plan being put through any further privileges will be affected.

Awaiting your immediate reply, we remain,

Yours very sincerely,

The Yard Creek Camp,

Per H. Koneko

Chairman of Camp Committee." (34)

When the Commission received this request, Eastwood, the General Manager, wrote to Walker on the 16th sending a copy of the letter and asking for his reaction. Eastwood added: "*I feel that the plan has some merit in that the boys might be influenced to the good if permitted to visit their families say, once every six months. However before considering the matter further I should like to have your opinion*".

Walker replied to Eastwood on the 19th stating that he, personally, did not have any objections to the request. He raised many points and questions with regard to the request but in any event it would have to be approved by officials at his head office in Ottawa. He suggested that the Associate Deputy Minister of Labour be consulted before any definite decision was made. (32) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 7., for Walker's letter)

THE EXILES

On the 30th of November, Wardle wrote to MacNamara regarding the request for leave and suggested that several conditions be imposed:

"(1) Not more than 10% of the Japanese from any one camp to be given leave over the same period.

(2) No Japanese to be given leave unless he has behaved himself in camp, and in the opinion of the Engineer has done a reasonable amount of work.

(3) Each Japanese to carry an official permit endorsed by the Engineer, R.C.M.P. Representative, and if practical, the Representative of the British Columbia Security Commission, authorizing him to travel by the most direct route to where his family resides, and to remain there an extended length of time.

It is suggested that such leave be limited to two weeks with his family, plus travelling time.

(4) Leave permit to be subject to cancellation for cause at any time during the period it covers.

(5) No Japanese to be given leave unless he has properly equipped himself with clothing necessary for the work he has to do.

(6) Each Japanese will be fully responsible for his own subsistence from the time he leaves camp until he returns.

(7) Each Japanese to be fully responsible for his transportation from the time he leaves camp until the time he returns.

The latter condition might be subject to revision as I would not think it unreasonable for the Security Commission to allow the Japanese the equivalent of a one-way railway or bus fare for a visit to their families for say, twice a year.

If each Japanese carries a proper permit I would not see the need of a guard to accompany them. Any Japanese found at any point not in accordance with his permit, would have it cancelled and would at once be returned to camp.

The arrangement might be fairly simple in the case of camps in British Columbia, but would be more difficult, particularly from the transportation standpoint, for the Japanese in other Provinces, particularly those we have in Ontario camps.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Perhaps you would let me have your views at your earliest convenience.

J.M. WARDLE

Director". (32)

MacNamara had written to Eastwood on the 30th as well, indicating that he was in favour of granting leave, but he had his list of conditions:

"(a)that their work has been satisfactory in the preceding period to the road camp supervisors, who shall decide when the various groups may be permitted to take leave;

(b)that the boys go in parties of not more than ten for periods not longer than two weeks, order of precedence to be decided by lot;

(c)that the boys pay their own transportation and be given police escort to be paid for by the B.C. Security Commission;

(d)that the boys, before leaving the road camp give a written undertaking that they will come back peaceably at the end of their leave".

In the same letter he told Eastwood that B.C. lumber operators were not to recruit in the road camps until the policy of work by Japanese in the Crown Lands was settled. However, the emphasis was to get as many of the young single men out of the road camps East to lumbering or other work.

MacNamara replied to Wardle's letter above, on the 2nd, and said that he would ask Eastwood to include Wardle's points 3, 5 and 6 to MacNamara's list of conditions. (32)

"The N.C." November 30th, ***"Men in Road Camps Seek Home Leave for Christmas***

Revelstoke, B.C. - Petitions asking for leave at Christmas to visit families in evacuation towns or elsewhere have been forwarded to the British Columbia Security Commission from camp committees on the Revelstoke-Sicamous highway. These camps Solsqua, Yard Creek, Griffin Lake, Taft and Three Valley are manned by single Canadian-born and naturalized Japanese. Many of the workers have been stationed in the camps since last April, when they were

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first established, and they hope that after nine months of restricted camp life they will be granted permission to visit their families."

The Commission let the men at Yard Creek know that the decision to allow leave rested with the Department of Mines and Resources. This seems to have been a disappointment to some men in the camps, as the following intercepted letter from Sam in the camp at Solsqua illustrates. He wrote to J. O. in Slocan City; the Censor's excerpt: "*December 12th's issue of the New Canadian came today and it said that the decision on whether or not Christmas leaves would be granted is to be decided by the Department of Mines and Resources. If that is the case it looks bad. Tiller and the other big shots are making huge sums of money from these camps, so naturally they want the camps opened as long as possible. The case like this petition should be decided by the Security Commission, Tiller and his gang must have put a fast one over the Commission*". (18) (the letter was released)

Despite the fact that Wardle and Walker were in favour of granting leave under certain conditions, their Minister, Crerar, was not in favour of the change in past practice of camp operations. He wrote to Mitchell expressing his reservations on the 16th of December. He could not have had a clear idea of how the leaves were being considered because his first concern was that the Department had never closed construction camps over the Christmas holidays. Then he could envision as many as 850 Japanese men crowding on to trains and busses when the Armed Forces would be travelling home and the possibility of clashes. (32)

On December 19th, Kaneko wrote to the Department in Ottawa with the same request. The letter contained these extra points: "*We would like to point out that we do not ask that these leaves be in the Christmas season. Anytime in the winter months is satisfactory to us as long as we can have the chance that we have all looked forward to and set our hearts on.*

... If it is more convenient for you to send us in small groups or any other way it is entirely satisfactory to us. About seventy five percent of the men in these camps would like to have this chance to visit the evacuation towns.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

*Asking for your serious consideration to this question,
we remain*

*Yours very sincerely,
The Yard Creek Camp,
per H. Kaneko
Chairman,*

representing the Revelstoke-Sicamous group".

Wardle replied to Kaneko on the 28th stating: *"The question of leave has been under consideration since you sent your petitions to the British Columbia Security Commission and we are in favour of arranging leave for the Japanese under conditions that will meet the circumstances. ... we hope that the first group of Japanese will begin to leave on or about the middle of January".* (32)

Around the middle of November, Eastern lumber firms were to meet with the Commission to see about recruiting men to work in Northern Ontario during the winter. Walker was asked if he would have any objection to the firms visiting the R-S project to see if men could be recruited. Eastwood pointed out to Walker that some of the men on the project had volunteered in the early Spring for such work, and it was his view that those men should be given any chance which came up for such employment. Walker was not really anxious to have representatives of firms going to the camps and selecting the best men in the camps, but he acknowledged that men who had performed well on the job should be given the chance to better themselves if they chose. His condition to Eastwood was that the representatives had to contact Tiller first before entering any of the camps.

Mills, in his memo to Wardle to inform him of this development, was in agreement with Walker, but was not optimistic about the men volunteering in view of the poor response from the men on the Y-BR Project to similar offers of employment outside of the province. He asked for Wardle's opinion on Walker's action. The Commission, of course, was quite anxious to send as many Japanese out of the Province as they possibly could in line with the policy of the Government to disperse the Japanese across Canada. The Government and the Commission had the opinion that if men could be persuaded to accept employment outside the Province,

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their families would follow and reduce the "*Japanese problem*" inside BC. (Author's note: This certainly happened in the case of our family; by August of 1943, when we four brothers were finally resident in Toronto, we called our mother, sister and brother to join us.)

Wardle's response to Mill's on November 13th, was: " ... *As the general policy of the British Columbia Security Commission and of the Department of Labour is to have as many Japanese as possible absorbed in commercial work, I think we should co-operate in this matter as already arranged for by Mr. Walker, but subject to the following understanding:*

(a) The men are not to be canvassed during working hours. There are no objections to the lumber representative looking over the men while work is under way.

(b) The lumber company's representative should take all men who are ready and reasonably fit for the work and not take only the best men.

(c) The company's representative will be fully responsible for the men once they leave our camps and cannot return them in case of accident or illness for us to look after until they are well again.

The latter condition is important and Mr. Walker should have it agreed to by Mr. Eastwood, General Manager, British Columbia Security Commission". (32)

The problems caused by the actions of recalcitrant men on the project seemed to be a constant thorn in the sides of the men in charge. On the 18th of December, Walker wrote two letters to Mr. F.E. DesBrisay, of the Commission, requesting the removal of three men in one letter and six in the other. DesBrisay's reply on the 30th illustrates the extreme difficulty the Commission had in putting these men in other locations. His reply is reproduced in part here: " ... *we can appreciate your position and have only one suggestion to make at the moment. Inasmuch as we have no place for these single boys in our Interior Housing Projects, we can only offer them logging camp work in Ontario. Our suggestion would be that you hand them the attached Permits to Travel, telling them they must go down to Port Arthur. If they refuse to go and say they*

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

would rather be interned, please keep in mind that we have no room in the internment camp for any Japanese and Ottawa has specifically requested that we do all possible to place these Japanese other than in internment camp. With this in mind, when you are talking to these boys, it would be well to have an alternative proposition for them.

It is just possible that if you tell these boys that these permits have arrived from the B.C. Security Commission and that it is our order that they be placed aboard a train and sent to Port Arthur, they may go willingly, or they may decide to stay on at your camps and become good workers.

We admit that this is not a very helpful suggestion but it is worth trying. If you find that it does not work, please advise us and we will try to find some other means of trying to relieve you of this problem. Should they accept the Permits, kindly let us know the date of departure so that we may warn Port Arthur of their arrival". (6)

The day before Christmas, Mills reported to Wardle on Tiller's Personnel report for November. He quoted Tiller as reporting: "The Japanese as a whole have become reconciled to the idea of remaining in the Camps for the winter. There is now a more settled attitude apparent, and is resulting in good work, considering the weather conditions. The above statement applies to the general behaviour.

There are specific cases of deliberate refusal to do any work. For some cases this is an attempt to avoid making wage assignment to dependents; in other cases, it is the outcome of the stand that 'as the Government placed them here against their will, the Government will have to keep them.'

Many strange stories find circulation among the Japanese, that have definitely sabotaged all efforts to recruit men for labor in the East. It is quite apparent that they do not wish to sever their connection with the Pacific Coast, at least the Province of British Columbia". (32)

**"The N.C." December 19th, "Spend Spare Time With
Skates, Skis in Road Camps**

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Griffin Lake, B.C. - Although to us folk born and raised in the mild climate of the Pacific coast, winter weather with snow and sub-freezing weather has arrived the local people here have told us that 'We haven't started into winter yet.'

What ever we have, however, it froze all the water pipes, except the line to the cook-house, and the only bath left to us is the good old 'nihon-buro'. (this weather report dated December 8th, 1942.)

Skating and skiing occupy the free time of the boys in camp in this section now.

Occasionally, some of the boys go to Revelstoke to play basketball against the high school team there. Solsqua and Taft have each won a game there 38 - 25 and 23 - 21 respectively. Griffin Lake camp played on December 11.

Winter sports, however, are not without casualties, two men being laid off due to injuries.

Reverend R.W. Williams has again paid a visit to the camps in this section with his words of encouragement to the young men who find the close quarters of the camp more than confining at this time of the year. A second petition in regards to 'Christmas Leaves' is being sent to the Security Commission."

"The N.C." December 26th, "May Arrange Camp Leaves in New Year.

No leaves are being granted men in the five road camps of the Sicamous-Revelstoke section to visit families during the Christmas season, but it is expected that 'arrangements will be made after the New Year to permit them to visit their relatives within a reasonable time', an official statement from the Department of Mines and Resources at Banff, Alta. said last week.

Wartime restrictions, heavy civilian traffic on the road at the holiday season, and the wish to avoid any incidents with servicemen travelling on the trains were given as reasons why leave could not be granted between Christmas and New Year."

1943 - - - another year on the R-S Project, but the chance for most of them to visit with their families! At the beginning of the year,

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there were 321 men in the various camps, with 185 Canadian-born and the rest Naturalized Canadians. (33)

There always seemed to be problems with the attitude of a small minority of the men in the camps. Beginning in early January, there was correspondence between the Engineers on the job, the Department Offices in Ottawa and the Commission in Vancouver regarding the removal of 10 men from two of the camps, Taft and Three Valley. The correspondence began on January 8th, with a letter from Tiller to Walker, referring to a request to the Commission for the removal of six men from the Three Valley Camp and appears to have concluded in early May, with the actual removal of one man from the Yard Creek Camp, who was escorted by Mines and Resources officials onto a train for Port Arthur and presumably put to work in a logging camp, or in one of the road camps at Schreiber. It is not clear that the 10 men originally designated for removal from the two camps were ever actually removed, but the Commission finally set up a procedure for dealing with these recalcitrant workers from the camps. When a Foreman wanted a worker removed from the camp, the Commission would send a "Removal Order" to the RCMP Office nearest to the camp; the worker would be discharged from the camp and told to report to the Office. This was the procedure followed in the case of the worker from Yard Creek, except that he was not trusted to report to the RCMP, so he was personally escorted onto the train to be exiled to Ontario and to be dealt with by the National Selective Service arm of the Department of Labour.

Feelings appeared to be so bad, that according to the story of a Japanese maid working for the wife of the Divisional Engineer of the CPR and reported by Tiller to Walker: *"she was contemplating marriage to a man, now in our Camps. On being questioned, she admitted the man had no prospects for employment, but the chief reason for the marriage was his desire to get out of the Camp, and they considered this his only means of obtaining his objective. She went on to say that because of the war situation, wherein it appeared that Japan was losing ground, that he feared that a party in that Camp would do something serious in connection with*

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blowing up the railroad, and in case something of this nature should happen, they felt that the whole Camp would be dealt with harshly, regardless of the innocence of the majority of the members, and therefore he wanted to get clear of the place before anything happened". (6)

In late February, there was a meeting held in Ottawa with Inspectors Mead and Saul of the RCMP; Brown and Pamitt, Department of Labour, Japanese Division and Wardle to try and develop a scheme for dealing with recalcitrant workers in all Project Camps. The scheme which they developed involved the Resident Engineer contacting the Provincial Police and National Selective Service Officer in the nearest major town to make a placement of the worker. If there was no job in the area, the Engineer was to contact the Commission in Vancouver for a job placement. The scheme would be tried out in Revelstoke, since this was the closest major centre to a Road Project. This approach did not get off the ground because of the reluctance of the Provincial Police to become involved in the scheme.

At the end of March, Collins, Commissioner of Japanese Placement, together with Constable Davidson of the Provincial Police, went to Revelstoke to visit the Road Camps. When they returned to Vancouver, they reported that: "... *they found that Tiller's complaint was exaggerated with little foundation in fact*". MacNamara sent the information in the Collins and Davidson reports to Wardle who immediately requested a report from both Tiller and Walker covering the information provided in MacNamara's letter. Walker replied in late April, essentially disagreeing with most of the points raised. (32) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 8., for complete text)

"The N.C." January 16th, *"Camp Boys to Visit Interior Homes
on 2-Week Leave*

*Warning on Marriage Amuses Men
Must Pay All Expenses*

Revelstoke, B.C. - Under arrangements made by the Department of Mines and Resources offices at Banff, Alta., groups of men of ten or less at each time from each of the five camps on the Sicamous-Revelstoke road project are being given leave of two

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weeks to visit homes in the interior towns. Those who have worked in the camps for the longest period are to be granted leave first, and releases from camp are being given to only those who have been employed on the project over four months. Leave for the others is to be considered later. Not more than ten percent of the camp personnel will be given leave at one time.

Complete by Spring

The men must pay their own expenses and will be responsible for their own meals and lodging while travelling. Their permits issued by the British Columbia Security Commission, R.C.M. Police, and Engineer-in-charge are good for two weeks only including travelling time and are subject to cancellation.

The general intention it is understood, is to have leave activities completed by Spring, and it is desired 'that all men who have earned leave' will have visited their homes by April 30.

Each worker before being issued a permit 'must give a written undertaking that he will return promptly and peaceably at the end of the leave.'

Almost 400 men, Canadian-born and naturalized, are employed in the five camps on the project at Solsqua, Yard Creek, Taft, Three Valley, and Griffin Lake. They are all single men.

No Ghost Town Insurance

They have been advised, to their considerable amusement, that getting married during their leave in the interior towns will not entitle them to remain there with their wives.

Posted on various bulletin boards in the camps, a letter advises project officers that it has been brought to the attention of the Security Commission that 'some of the boys proceeding to the housing projects on holiday have in mind the thought that they can become married while there, which entitles them to take up residence at one of these projects.'

Go East With Wives

The letter goes on to inform those that it concerns that the Commission will not allow them to stay in the housing project with their wives, if they become married; but that they must find some

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employment outside of British Columbia and take their wives with them.

The letter concludes: 'We feel that a warning at this time will probably offset a great deal of trouble which may arise if they get into these housing points and become married to girls for no other purpose than that they will be allowed to stay in British Columbia.

** * * **

Zero temperatures were recorded in the camps along the line as well as considerable snowfall, two weeks ago, and winter sports continues to provide a certain outlet for youthful energy.

The Griffin Lake hockey team proclaimed itself superior to Three Valley as a result of a 5 - 5 tie battle followed up by a 7 -3 victory."

One of the possible tactics discussed among the authorities to get compliance of the so-called incorrigible young men, to leave the ghost towns for employment under Selective Service, was that of isolating them in a semi-internment camp if they refused. However, the Government did not want to be accused by Japan of interning Japanese for their refusal to work and Mead cautioned MacNamara in a letter on January 20th about the possible dangers which might be faced if this tactic were to be tried. He wrote:

"The segregation of the few incorrigibles at the Schreiber Camp may not be very important as there are only a few of them, but the situation would be entirely different in the settlements in eastern British Columbia. I feel that I know enough about the psychology of the Japanese to visualize that when these young men were ordered to go to a camp such as described by Mr. Eastwood, we would meet with resistance not only on the part of these men, but on the part of their parents and friends, which would mean we either had to back down or use force in transporting them to the camp; and after overcoming this obstacle we would be faced with a discontented group which would have to be closely policed as their state of mind might make them potentially dangerous at this time and their internment proper might result. Therefore I would suggest that it would be far better to allow these people to remain in the settlements in the hope that eventually they would become tired of their environment and remove themselves to districts

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where work can be obtained under the voluntary plan now visualized". (35)

J.O., at Unit No.3 of the Taft Camp, wrote a letter at the end of the month to K.S. at Roseberry, BC. The Censor's excerpt follows: *"There's one week this month that we only went out to work for only 2 1/2 days. To tell you the truth we were on strike twice this month. The first time was on account of the new straw-boss trying to get us to slave and work 8 hours straight. The second time was for the bum grub we're being fed. Little success got to wait till next week before any improvement is made. I don't know how much graft is going on but the meat that came in on Friday was about 160 to 175 pounds and the bill was made out for 250 pounds. The cook and a couple of other fellows kicked about it when the Engineer in Charge and the guy that's in charge of the supply came yesterday and they made a mistake on the bill and produced the one for 165 pounds or so".* (18)

T.M., also at Unit No. 3 of the Taft camp, wrote to S.M. at Kaslo on the 31st of January, and the Censor's excerpt, which was released, follows: *"Now that the road finally got opened ole sour-pust Tiller and that Roman-nosed stomach-rubber Miner of the 'supplies' came after the plow. The foreman and the boys sure gave them hell for sending all that 'crap'. And those robbers call it food mind you. Christ the other day Friday when we went to unload the supplies from the freight, there was five sacks of carrots that were frozen and rotten. The sacks were just soaking and the smell??!! Well you know how what-cha-ma-call it stink? It's worse than that and those pot-bellied Miner and Tiller expect us to eat that. On the bill it had 450 pounds of beef and they only send 120 pounds one quarter and also some cheese which wasn't even on the car. So you see where those robbers are putting some money in their own pockets.*

This new foreman sure raised hell too. After he came we're getting eggs every morning too. He knows that the boys or any man even white guys couldn't work with all that trash they give us. So he told Tiller that if the boys don't get better food he wouldn't expect them to work. And the way he described the hot cakes to them he says they're 'soggy' and burned and how can you eat the

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damn stuff without jam, syrup or even butter. Yeah we don't get butter now too. Yes sir Bill sure is alright. He 'high balls' us like hell but he's O.K. He says all that in a joking way and the boys sure work. As he says a foreman has to know how to handle the boys right or they wouldn't do anything. Well he should know as he's been boss for 35 years". (18)

The Censor's excerpts of the two letters complaining about the food and the discrepancy in the weight of meat delivered to camp eventually found their way to Wardle's desk. On the 16th of March, the Supply Agent, C. Miner, wrote a two page explanatory report to Tiller. Quarters of beef were accidentally switched in the unloading process at Taft and Three Valley with the result that one camp got more than they should have and the other was short-changed. As for the carrots, they were shipped with some frozen, but others were supposed to be picked over and used. Miner also provided information to Tiller to show that the Japanese camps were getting more meat and egg ration per man per day than the armed forces. He ended his report by stating: "*Most of the kicking, I believe, came from the fact that there are not enough sweet commodities, but as far as the sweets are concerned, they receive what the civilians receive". (19)*

"The N.C." February 6th, **"Camp Boys Anxious to Visit Homes
By 'Dekoboko'**

Three Valley. - Eagerly awaiting and dreaming of the day when they will be visiting their parents, brothers and sisters and their special young ladies are the young Nisei men in camp.

In the meantime, they are consoling themselves with an Issei versus Nisei Shogi Tournament which was held January 16 and 17. The final outcome found the Nisei victorious. Individually, the players scored as follows: Niseis - Obayashi, 7 wins: Mayeda, 5 wins and 2 losses; Okano and Takizawa, 4 wins 3 losses.

The only pleasure we have at the present is The New Canadian from which we are able to read news of the Japanese people throughout Canada. We hope therefore that everyone will write to the newspaper so we will be able to read about them."

"The N.C." March 27th, **"Waiting for Hideo**

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Yard Creek - The preliminaries to the camp boys' visit to the interior towns probably originated in our camp at Yard Creek. Looking ahead to the slack time in the winter, we travelled around to Taft, Griffin Lake, Three Valley and Solsqua on truck to confer on this vital matter. The pow-wows showed that the other camps were a bit on the pessimistic side over this question. Frankly we were a bit doubtful about this too, but as our slogan is 'Hoping for the best and expect the worst', in good time we sent our petition to the Security Commission asking them if there was any chance to visit our families.

No reply came. A second one was sent and it bore fruit. 'Received your letter but cannot let you go during Christmas on account of possible incidents on train with soldiers on leave. Will permit after New Year'. After that everyone went around with a big smile from ear to ear and I, of course was one of them.

After New Year meant January 2nd to us, but nothing came till the middle of January and we all aged ten years during that time. Finally the passes did come and the first group of ten tightly grasped their permits in their hands and left after a royal send-off. We were a trifle scared that they would not come back because they took so much luggage, but true Yard Creek brothers, they all returned.

For two or three days they recuperated from their flight to land of paradise. Toru told of his wonderful experiences ... I took her to the dance on Saturday night and danced in a little dark corner with the juke box playing 'I had the Craziest Dream ...' After a little mix-up that delayed their going for three weeks, the second group left for Tashme.

After they return it will be my turn. And mom, I'll be coming home to Kaslo on the 17th of this month. Make my favorite lemon pie will you Betty? Yes sir, I'm going home soon ... hooray!

Hideo Shinohara

Ed.note: So far Mr. Shinohara has not turned up in Kaslo on schedule. Everyone is trifle worried that he might have got lost in the Slocan Valley or met an interesting party somewhere in New

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Denver or Roseberry. We hope he has not forgotten that lemon pie that is waiting for him. But if he has, we'll look after it for him."

"The N.C." April 3rd, "Camp Boys' All Stars Lose Close Game

Revelstoke. - An all star team from the Japanese Road camps was defeated by a score of 10 - 3 by the C.P.R. shop hockey team, reports the Revelstoke Review. 'The game was a sizzler from the beginning but the superior stickhandling tactics and the combination of the railroaders were soon in evidence with the result that West Road camp aggregation had slowed its pace considerably before the final whistle blew.'

The paper commented that 'the Japanese boys who have given local teams first class competition this winter, have been noted for their clean demonstrations and this game was no exception.'

The All-Stars were K.Koyanagi, H.Koyanagi, Henry Ikeda, Y.Higo, Pete Morimoto, N.Nakashima, Mush Fukumoto, S.Miike, George Sota, Jack Ikebuchi, and H.Fujino."

"The N.C." April 3rd,

"If Only For This ...

Japanese evacuees in their dispersal across Canada have been commented upon, usually in a favorable manner, by the daily or weekly press of the district in which they have settled. One example of this is found in a write up of a hockey game between camp boys and a team from C.P.R. shops in Revelstoke, which is printed on page four of this issue.

The Revelstoke Review comments that 'The Japanese boys who have given local teams first class competition this winter have been noted for their clean demonstrations and this game was no exception.' The importance attached to this sentence at its casual reading may be meagre indeed, but with a little more thought, it is quite clear that the distance which this sentence may travel and the number of persons it may influence cannot be estimated. This although theoretical but plausible, can be attributed to six Nisei camp boys who comprised the all-star team and conducted themselves on the rink in such a manner as to bring this comment of the local paper.

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In the past, descriptives, such as law-abiding, industrious courteous have been applied to us and we have been rightly proud of them. But, they are of no value now, unless we in our work and play, wherever we may be, exemplify to the people, who, if they are a little strange to us, we are doubly strange to them, that we are in reality no different from them, that we believe in law and order, in hard work and friendship and that we can enjoy a good keen game, a tender movie or a solid Canadian joke in the same manner as anyone else.

In debates, whether to leave for farm projects or not, progress in all the centres, the subjects of relocation, resettlement, assimilation, rights, broken promises, deportation, repatriation and curbing of liberties are brought in, but if for no other reason at all, we can go out to the people of Canada to show what stuff we are made of, what kind of people we are, what our characters are like. Each little clipping as from the Revelstoke Review is another victory for the Japanese Canadian and with faith in ourselves, surely then, the future will take care of itself."

"Mac" at the Taft Camp wrote to James Mose in Toronto on April 3rd. The Censor excerpted and excised the letter: "Everyone in the gang stayed away or rather came home in the morning. The source of the trouble is the straw-boss as usual. He's a guy named Joe Bottom but goes by a more common and appropriate name of ketsu-no-ana. (ass-hole)

He tried to kick us around and 'high-ball' us and even said he wouldn't give us our time. I don't know what the outcome will be but anyways it's the second time we had trouble over him.

I might end up East via Angler if things keep getting worse so don't give up hope I might see you one day". (Author's note: this last paragraph was excised by the Censor.) (18)

P.K., at Three Valley Camp, wrote a letter on April 23rd and sent it to T. K. at Tashme. However, the letter was condemned by the Censor. The text follows: "Well, looks like we're stuck here for good. First we asked for the teaching job in the ghost-towns, but that was all shot -- then we asked to be released for self support in Revelstoke but that was all shot too. Then we asked to be allowed

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to go and work in the Sandon mine, but were refused because of the mine's proximity to the ghost towns. They must take us for a bunch of 'morons'. We applied for a job in Vernon (we had one all lined up), but we got a reply saying that although labour could be received from the ghost towns none of the men now employed in road camps could leave for outside employment. That burned us up, because we who are in roadcamp are always getting a dirty deal, whereas, the guys in the ghost towns, who should have gone, or were intending to go to internment camps, always get the first consideration. They even don't want to move from there when they have a job offered them, even in B.C. By golly I always wonder how they would feel in a road camp. Stick them in here for a year and they wouldn't be so 'choosy' in their jobs. Well, Bill and I then worked through the Selective Service trying to go to a mill outfit near Chase on Shuswap Lake but got a telegram from Ottawa saying that the Dominion Government was definitely opposed to the employment of men from road camps in interior industries. Holy cow! even the Dominion Government is against us. Presume the B.C.S.C. intention is to clear up the ghost towns first, but by then all jobs will be gone, so we're stuck here for good I guess. What a life! Our morale sure is low.

Is your dad in Vancouver now? Guess he comes to Tashme pretty often though eh? Sure wish they could take this 'property liquidation' business to court and break it wide open. The gall of those guys trying to sell our property". (18)

In early June, MacNamara wrote to Wardle referring to this letter, advising him that the policy for transfers out of the road camps was misunderstood by the engineers. The prohibition was against mass transfers of men from the camps. However, individual placements on the basis of aptitude of the transferees for specific jobs in private employment should be encouraged, as they arose. MacNamara recognized that unhappy men in the camps would not put their best effort towards the road work. (35)

"The N.C." May 1st,

"High and Low

By R.I.

IT WAS 'SO-LONG'

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If there was any special date that the Nisei will remember in years to come, perhaps it will be March 31, the day that the Canadian-born reported to the Mounted Police Barracks on Heather Street.

It was a perfect spring morning that Tuesday, Powell Street was crowded with evacuees from points up coast and like a joyous day of carnival, everyone was dressed in their neatest, the store windows splattered with sales notices and the bright spring colors beginning to gladden the eye. Issei parents met friends and acquaintances for the first time in many years, energetically bowed, chattered, laughed, and told how it had all started with them, sadly shook their heads and inside of them there was only worry. Young men grouped together at the corners, hands in their pockets, lounging around not wanting to report. Every fifteen minutes the street car rattled by with curious passengers gazing stonily at Powell Street that was losing its people.

At the barracks we lined up and went inside to one of the tables where we got another date to report back for final medical check-up and the actual date for leaving. That was all. George got the first. Min got the fifth ... some got the ninth and others got the twelfth and we were the seventh.

There was an air of unreality about the whole affair. At any moment one could expect to see the scene fade like a newsreel, with the bass-throated announcer's word still in our ears ... 'All west coast Japs report to Royal Canadian Mounted Police barracks at Vancouver. Within a week or two, these Japanese will be sent to interior B.C. road camps ...' It was unreal. The majority of them young boys, just out of high school, reporting for road camps, perhaps for the duration.

At Hastings Park the doctor looked us over, asked what we did for a living, tapped a few times on the chest and pronounced us fit. A record of our possessions was taken in the Custodian's department. It was monotonous saying nothing, nothing ... then a ticket for Cambie Siding.

The final good-bye was matter of fact. Take care of yourself. Genki de ne. The old men going to Solsqua parted solemnly with their

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sons and daughters, the mothers and wives did not come down to the station. The Reverend came in to the car. Good luck. Frank joked all along. You going? Incredulously. Well, I phoned you. Go on. I'm on the train. Go on. It was amusing, the unbeliever, when we were right on the train, the duffel bags stacked in the smoking room and our hats and coats beside us.

The Mounties came around to check our numbers once, twice, thrice, for many had given themselves voluntary extensions. Finally the bell rang. Slowly we left, the station became farther and farther. As each smoke-grimed pillar flashed passed, what did everyone think? When they would come home again? And yet, in many hearts there must have been a great sigh of relief. Now every-thing was going to be all right. There would be no more dashing about ... nothing to become mad about ... just sleep, eat and work at the camp. And in some there was the spirit of adventure. Hell, we might as well make the best of the situation.

Things familiar passed in fast fleeting glimpses. Every building every corner and even the sign board held a memory. That's the corner that I hit a car with my bicycle. Look at the bunch in front of Ernies. They'd better hurry up, it's almost curfew. Ha, ha ... no curfew anyway at camp. The line of Powell Street buildings appeared and disappeared. Canco ... that's where we used to roller skate. Sugar factory ... big, isn't it. Powell Lumber ... I used to work there. The old Buddhist Temple ... I shingled it once an old man said.

Soon there was just a quiet stillness in the dusty coach - the excitement of parting now all but vanished. The coal-oil lighted lamp swung moodily from the ceiling casting a flickering haze. the clickety clickety of the wheels, a whistle now and then and black-haired boys, gray-haired men leaning far out the windows to catch a last glimpse of what had been their home in an uneven life.

We reached Cambie at 7 next morning."

"The N.C." May 8th,

"High and Low

By R.I.

Cambie Siding

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Sleepy-eyed we watched the stunted trees pass the car windows. In the early morning, the train seemed to run slower, more tiredly after a night of steady running. We blinked at the lake. We did not think. Someone brought out a bag of oranges and we sucked them gratefully. The constables who were to guard the camp smiled sleepily from the corner seat, their wrapped rifles beside them. But to us they weren't constables then, we didn't know that till we got to camp. We thought they were hunters.

We rolled to a stop - it was Sicamous. We shifted ourselves stiffly. Pretty soon now, one of the older Nisei told us. Once more we went on. Clickety clickety of the wheels oo-ah, oo-ah of the train whistle as we turned the bends and the white vapor slipping past our windows. The mountie, still spic and span miraculously, told the old men to be ready for their camp. They gathered their hats and coats, grips and cardboard boxes. Solsqua the sign read. The train slowed to a stop. Baggage was thrown out and a dozen naturalized citizens of Canada descended for their camp. A father bade his son good-bye, told him to come over to his camp sometime if he could and if it was not too far. The train pulled out. We caught a glimpse of a Nisei balancing between two freight cars grinning cheerfully.

Ten minutes later we stopped at Cambie Siding, our baggage was thrown off. It was a little after 7. We must have been a funny bunch in our city clothes, wearing heavy overcoats and unaccustomed hats, our shining new grips beside us.

So this was Cambie. A small station shack stood lonely over there, and over here on the siding which made Cambie, twelve cars were lined up and from three smoke stacks, signs of a fire drifted briskly to the promising morning sky. The foreman came to welcome us - we were the first bunch for Cambie. We grabbed our bags and trudged towards our home - for the duration perhaps. Behind us the train left slowly. Some turned to look around, others did not.

A man in a cook's uniform leaned in the doorway which was the kitchen car. He waved cheerfully. The boys perked up and they waved back. The foreman said that's Bert. He'll have grub for you soon. Grub, breakfast. We felt better. Somebody cracked a joke,

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we're the camp fire boys. Ha ... ha ... we laughed and watched anxiously whether the other fellow was laughing too.

The cars were warm and fresh, the fire burning cheerfully. We prepared our bunks with great care. How's everything the mountie asked coming through. Dandy. Say boys, he said , if you have letters I'll mail them in Vancouver for you when I get back. Thanks. We'll have them ready. Swell guy.

We went outside to gaze appreciatively at the latrine. It wasn't very private but it was roomy and clean. We speculated at the height of the mountains that surrounded us. We threw stones at the squirrels. Surprise - we found snow in odd sheltered spots, we discovered a ball park right across the tracks. We found a good breakfast waiting for us.

At ten o'clock that night as we lay in our bunks, we heard the familiar whistle of the train. The powerful lights came around the bend and lit the opposite mountainside. Slowly, gradually, it straightened out until it shone directly down the tracks. The shadow of each telephone post it left behind ran past our windows like a hurried lantern slide. Louder, louder - and swiftly it passed our line of cars, each coach bright, people reading and chatting. I wonder if there's any Japanese on that. Nobody leaving on the 10th was there? More talk followed and soon subsided. We were left alone with our thoughts."

"The N.C." May 22nd,

"High and Lo

By R.I.

For Two Weeks

My stay at Cambie was more like a holiday for I was only there for two weeks, but I did get tired at the end of the second week of the monotonous, never ending life; and socks, underwears and shirts were getting near the stage where I had to wash them or go around without them. After two weeks it was a good time to go home to Vancouver.

I remember Harmless Joe. Harmless Joe was called harmless because he was harmless, although at times I faintly suspected that he was a smart fellow underneath. But I suppose my suspicions were unfounded and he was genuinely simple. We asked him how

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the doctor had passed him physically as fit for camps. He told us one had and one hadn't. I supposed they must have tossed a coin. This Joe, there were two other Joe's in the camp, used to come into the kitchen and discuss very elaborately with Bert the cook on the subject of the Bible. We never got over it.

Bert was a fair, slightly built Frenchman whose proper name was Albert. His home was a farm just south of New Westminster and he showed us proudly photographs of his family. He was a good cook and had baked his pies on boats, in hotels, restaurants and camp like ours all over the country. He told us stories, which if they were not designed for drawing-room conversation, bolstered our flagging morale and kept the whole camp roaring. He told us of his trip to Japan on one of the C.P.R. Empresses and when we discussed the war, Bert was always careful to keep Japanese and Japanese-Canadians scrupulously separated. One day he went home on a vacation, they tell me, and hasn't come back yet ...

Then there was Anaemic, a small pint-sized fellow with glasses who had worked in a printing shop in Vancouver. He was one of those Nisei who had spent his formative years in Japan. He was an interesting character. In chin-wags he would admit with a good-humored grin that although the Nisei girls were a lot of fun ... omoshiroi yo ... he wouldn't marry one of them for anything ... too bossy ... he said. We agreed over that last statement and had a big laugh.

Out on the road, Anaemic would be working away in a slick pair of Oxfords, a nice white shirt and a stunning green hat. He looked exactly what some cartoonist might had pictured an evacuee storekeeper or a school teacher to be like. One day we were loading the truck with gravel and every time Anaemic turned around to empty his little shovelful his right foot hopped off the ground. We all roared, we couldn't help it he was so comical in a serious way. But, how he could eat!

Nobody wanted to go into the kitchen, I don't know why. After all thousands of men cook and wash dishes ... not only for a living mind you. We were to be paid \$35 per month and the best of it was that the time went much faster ... and Bert promised us to give us

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lessons in the art of cooking. Frank, Sets, Yoshi and I went in as flunkies and we were a hot team.

Every morning at 6:30 a.m. we walked sleepily into the cook car, had a cup of coffee and then went to work. One morning, someone put salt on the table instead of sugar and the languages were very salty indeed.

Between time we didn't do much except listen to our records, read papers, talk, and some, play poker. One day Frank got a sling-shot and we went out to play in the woods. Soon we were playing Indians. We dashed madly through the trees, ducking behind stumps, firing at unseen enemies, uttering blood-curdling cries and scaring three cows which were grazing nearby. Finally we attacked the cook car where we extracted cookies as prize of war. When it was over, we looked at each other disgustedly and solemnly agreed that we were a couple of queer guys.

One day at the end of the second week a wire came for me to go home. I was destined for a sugar beet farm in Alberta. I got the news at noon and left that night at seven. The foreman shook my hand, the timekeeper shook my hand, the two guards shook my hand, Bert shook my hand ... I hopped into a coach full of soldiers and went home feeling like a king with sixteen dollars owing to me from the Department of Mines and Resources. It was a nice way to spend two weeks ... if you knew that you didn't have to stay there for long."

"The N.C." May 22nd,

"Job Disappointing on Hope Road -
good on Sicamous

Victoria. - Japanese workers have done good work on the Sicamous end of the Sicamous-Revelstoke Highway but the work by them on the Hope end of the Hope-Princeton Highway has been disappointing, declared Public Works Minister Herbert Anscomb on his return to his office today after a tour of inspection of 1868 miles through the interior of B.C.

The minister explained that heavy machinery was required to make rapid progress on the Hope section of the highway but there did not appear to be the same willingness to work with the tools

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available among the 2000 Japanese located here, as on the Sicamous-Revelstoke section."

"The N.C." May 22nd,

"Taft Camp Blues

*This road camp of Taft is miles away
Out in the wilderness of fir and pine,
Where the silence is broken by flocks of jay
And puffing freight trains go up the line.*

*The ding-a-ling-a-ling of the mess hall gong
Awakens us up in the early dawn,
For 'chow' will be ready before very long
But the boys they prefer to stretch and yawn.*

*Remember you folks and all you pen pals
Keep sending the letters to buck up the lads,
Especially if its from those certain gals,
And from parents of boys, the mothers and dads.*

*I take off my hat to a certain old man
Who mingles with the boys at work or play,
Who can cheer up anyone who has a 'dead pan',
With his actions and words throughout the day.*

*At the end of the day we come back to camp,
The same old home for a year and a day,
To tar papered bunk-house and coal oil lamp
And ship-lap bunk where we 'hit the hay'.*

*We miss the city with lights so gay,
The coffee shop and the hamburger stand,
The stores with all their bright display
And the double featured pictures at the Strand.*

Taft, B.C.

T.R.P."

"The N.C." May 22nd,

"Softball begins in Road Camps

Three Valley - 19,

Griffin Lake - 8

Three Valley. - The well drilled Three Valley nine won its first exhibition game against Griffin Lake with a score 19 - 8. Hitting were equal on both teams but Griffin Lake lacking co-ordination from insufficient work-outs, suffered a major defeat. Batteries were

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Griffin Lake S.Kawai, S.Morimoto and T.Furuya; Three Valley, Y.Hayashi, and B.Hayashi.

Solsqua - 7,

Yard Creek - 11

Malakwa. - The first game of the year between Solsqua and Yard Creek found Yard Creek emerging on the top end of a 11 - 7 score. The game was a pitcher's duel between Yonemura of Yard Creek and Okino of Solsqua. Yard Creek outfit's outstanding man in the hit column was Nami Kawaguchi with three for four times at bat. The Miike brothers Sub and Jinx, led the way for Solsqua with two singles each.

* * * *

A five man sports committee was recently organized in Yard Creek composed of Kiyo Nakamura, Susumu Kawaguchi, Harry Nishizaki, Toru Idenouye and Frank Moritsugu. Three softball teams have been organized in the camp and dubbed the "Thunderbirds", "Mosquitoes", and "Hot Lips".

After some exhibition games in which the Thunderbirds showed their superiority by winning all the games, Mosquitoes losing one and Hot Lips losing all, the first league game was played last Saturday when the Hot Lips drew the short end of a 9 - 8 score with the Mosquitoes."

In late May, Walker received a telegram from the Superintendent of the CPR at Revelstoke about recruiting 20 men from the road camps along the R-S project. MacNamara, Collins and the RCMP had agreed to the recruitment. Walker was not happy about this as his telegram to Mills showed. His wire stated: "*This is contrary to Dept. policy as understood here if twenty good Japs taken there will be no good ones left STOP Will await your reply before advising ...*". Walker was advised by Mills, that it was agreed with the Labour Department, that 15 men could be recruited from the camps. The Kootenay Central line which the men would be working on did not transport war or other important equipment. (32)

Frank Moritsugu who was in the first group to go to the R-S Highway Project ended up in the Yard Creek Camp and wrote a number of articles for "The N.C." in 1942 and 1943. In April and

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May of 1992 he wrote in the "Nikkei Voice", a bilingual Japanese Canadian monthly newspaper, about his recollection of his Yard Creek stay. He remembers the Resident Engineer as a man with reddish hair and a pinkish complexion with a face like a skinned xxxx-xxx. He could not remember the Engineer's name.

Moritsugu wrote: " As the civilian boss of the Revelstoke-Sicamous string of Japanese Canadian road camps he would come through on inspection about once a month from his office in Revelstoke. Because I worked in the camp kitchen, I was often around when he drove in. And we'd get to talking.

He always rebuffed my arguments that we were being unfairly treated. Or that being sent to a camp like Yard Creek was an injustice to loyal citizens.

He'd argue back with such stories as supposedly hearing that the majority of Japanese Americans had refused to enlist when the opportunity arose down there to join the army. It was boloney, but not having access to the major newspapers, all I could say was that he was full of you know what.

At any rate, he used to love teasing and baiting me. And after we road camp men in B.C. were allowed two week visits to our families in the ghost towns in spring 1943, he would tease about that. You guys will never get to go to the ghost towns permanently, he'd smirk. You'll never get close to all those girls.

One day something happened which showed again how impotent we were in our mountain imprisonment. One of the nisei in the camp was a bitter loner who preferred speaking Japanese. We called him 'National' after the 'Japanese National' classification for non-citizen Japanese Canadians, because of his lack of English.

That morning, National decided he would beg off work because he felt sick. And after the other men headed out of camp to work, National went to the staffhouse to report to the timekeeper or foreman. The foreman was a burly no-neck man with a permanent scowl and a short fuse. Ramsay had been brought in to replace a more easy-going foreman.

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From the cookhouse kitchen, we could see National going to the staffhouse as we washed the pots and pans. After a few minutes, we saw him come reeling out of the staffhouse door.

National came over to us (the only ones in camp) and complained that the foreman had "attacked" him so he had to retreat while defending himself. And that he had been ordered to go out to work, but he wasn't going to.

A day or so later came the Mounties, who talked to National trying to get him to go back to work so the problem would blow over. National wouldn't budge. And then we learned the foreman had laid an assault charge.

The case was heard before the local justice of the peace, who happened to be storekeeper and postmaster Le-Beau in the nearby village of Malakwa.

Some of us in the kitchen gang were called as witnesses, and I also acted as interpreter because of National's inadequacy in English. But we had not seen the actual altercation about which the foreman and timekeeper testified. And even if we had, it was their word against ours.

National had protested to us that the foreman came at him yelling when National told him that he couldn't work that day. So National, in self defence, put up his hands and inadvertently touched the foreman's face, scratching his cheek. Thus the 'assault.'

At any rate, we felt frustrated because we could not contribute more to the defence of our campmate during the hearing. He was convicted of the charge, and Justice Lebeau sentenced poor National to 30 days in jail (at Oakalla-back in the protected zone). So off he went, and later we heard via the grapevine that when his time was up, National had been put on a train to Ontario."

He also wrote about a strike about which I did not read about in the material I researched at the Archives. His account was as follows: "Our low morale also brought on several work stoppages. We would refuse to go out to work after sessions of several men getting the runs, accusing the cook of using bad meat.

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But the worst camp strike came in the early summer of 1943. One sunny afternoon, members of the powder gang angrily walked into camp, hours before quitting time.

The powder man Andy, one of the hakujin staff, loved his booze and the Japanese Canadians working with him had often told of his habit of drinking on the job. That day, the nine members of his crew walked off the job, when while drilling holes into a large boulder to be blasted, they had discovered a live detonation cap-left over from a previous job. An inch or so closer, and someone would have been killed or seriously hurt.

Next day, the entire camp went on strike. The resident engineer came down with some of his flunkys, and backed by the camp foreman, they confronted the strikers in a cook-house meeting.

I'd become a camp spokesman by then, so was delegated to speak on the powder gang's behalf. After a meeting punctuated with accusations, denials and shouted orders to go back to work, the meeting ended with vague near-promises by the engineer.

As we walked out of the meeting the foreman beckoned to me and said, 'The next time you do that, (meaning speak up for the other men) you're on a train for Ontario.'!"

Shortly after this incident, Moritsugu was asked by Shoyama to come to Kaslo to work on "The N.C." as assistant editor replacing Roy Ito, another R-S project correspondent, who had been accepted as a student at McMaster University in Hamilton. Moritsugu had worked briefly for "The N.C." from December 1941 to February 1942.

He ended his article with: " So my unexpected release from road camp had a special dividend. A few days later, having said goodbye to my Okanagan-bound brother and my fellow Yard Creekers, I walked into the Revelstoke Mines and Resources office, suitcase and kitbag in hand. I was there to get my travel permit to Kaslo, from the resident engineer. Yes the same pink bulldog who used to tease me that I would never get near 'all those girls' in the ghost town again.

Imagine his feelings and the look on his face, as the engineer handed me the travel permit he had signed.

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Inside, I was jumping up and down. But during those camp years, I had learned to play dumb. So I worked hard not to grin as the precious permit became mine.

It was only after I got outside his office that I only broke out into a smile and started yelling Yippee! to myself. I jumped down the stairs leading out to the street, suitcase and kitbag feeling light as two feathers, and ran and ran to the train station."

I. M. of Unit 3 of the Taft Camp wrote to J.I.in Magrath, Alberta, on the 6th of June. The Censor excerpted the following from his letter but released the letter. "A few days ago, five boys from Griffin Lake Camp went to Golden to work on the C.P.R. as section hands. Can you beat that, the cheap C.P.R. outfit hiring Japanese now when they were the first company to kick the Japanese out.

Our straw boss, a Finn quit yesterday to go on his farm. Says he can't make anything when he's paying \$8.00 a day for a guy to plow his land while he's working here as a powder man for 55¢ per hour. That cheap son of a gun Tiller offered him 60¢ an hour to make Oscar stay but he says hell with your 60¢ and quit ...

We got a new cook again. Tommy Uchiyama quit so a white guy is here. I'll bet that's about the tenth cook since I came." (18)

Tiller responded to M.'s comments when Mills notified him and asked for his comments. Apparently the Department had other excerpts from other M. letters and he was in Tiller's books as an agitator. Some of Tiller's comments were: "The Japanese personnel of our Taft Camp are the poorest and have done the least amount of manual labour for the money received, of any camp on this project. There are a few in this camp who have been, and are good workers, and probably there would be a greater number if it were not for the bad influence of such agitators as the above letter writer. ... The reference in the letter to the trouble in the kitchen and our having had about ten changes of cooks is quite true. This has been caused by obstructionist tactics on the part of the Japanese in this camp of which M.is a good example." (18)

Another letter from the R-S camps came from "Johnnie", at Yard Creek, who wrote to L.N. at Tashme on June 6th, with the Censor

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excising the following excerpts: *"Because I got sick of that good for nothing dump I decided to transfer to Yard Creek though I hated to leave my friends at Griffin Lake. Griffin won't be so bad if they can get rid of some (obscene word used) 'stool pigeons' and some dumb guys who think they are too damn good."* Also, *"Lots of guys were either trying to leave or have already left Griffin Lake. I wouldn't blame them for wanting to leave such a dump. A camp full of troubles, near fights and even fights plenty of (obscene word used) and stool pigeons. What an un-cooperative camp. There even seems to be no cooperation within your own group. It's enough to make you sick. But coming back to the topic, it's strange how some guys can stand that joint. I for one couldn't. There are many others who also are at present waiting anxiously for their permits to leave."* (36)

"The N.C." July 10th,

"Camp Men Work as Extra Gang
on C.P.R.

Golden, B.C. - An 'extra gang' composed of thirteen men from the road camps of Solsqua, Yard Creek and Griffin Lake was organized recently by Kunitaro Hashimoto, who has been an employee of the Canadian Pacific Railway for many years. The gang, which commenced work on June 4, is charged with the maintenance of the railroad between Field and Kamloops a stretch of over 500 miles. They work ten hours daily and are all in high spirits.

The men worked for ten days at Edge Water, 60 miles south of Golden, and then moved six miles further south to Radium near the Kootenay National Park. A hot spring is located just three miles from there.

The district around Radium is rich in scenic beauty with towering mountains and deep ravines, they report. After work the men have journeyed three miles almost every evening to the hot spring resort to take a refreshing bath and the Occidental people of the resort have welcomed them in a friendly atmosphere.

The members of the gang numbering 17, including four Revelstoke residents are:

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Solsqua - Jisaburo Mizuta, Yasujiro Nakanishi, Koichi Nakata, Kanao Nishi and Ikei Ono; Yard Creek - Hideo Hayashida, Hideo Matsushita, and Shoichi Yoshida; Griffin Lake - Toshiyuki Fujiwara, Minoru Marumoto, Masao Nakano, and Hiroshi Oikawa."

J.S. c/o Coldstream Ranch wrote to I.M. at Yard Creek on August 27th, The Censor condemned this letter on August 27th, and the excerpt follows: *"We're all getting (got to be exact) sick of the conditions within this camp -- no electricity, no individual lamps, (three - two up to a couple of days ago -- gas lamps bought by the boys here), cutting fuel wood after work leaving us no time for any sort of recreation, (just leaves us enough time to jump into bath, write a few letters, listen to the radio, then jump into bed) rotten bunkhouse, unsatisfactory grub (no sugar except on Sundays -- keeping sugar to make jam or something, no cakes, no cookies, no pastries or desserts of any kind, no nothing --- leaving us without an ounce of pep on working days, damned good-for-nothing companion by the name of M. from a National camp up Blue River Way etc. etc. etc.*

This bum bosses everybody around both at Camp and at work; just like two-bit boss at road camps. He used to be called 'Field Marshal' 'Big Chief' etc. but is now called 'King S---', a name that sticks to him like glue. He's just as bad as the 'Chosinjin' at Griffin and the T. brothers at Yard Creek. Nobody likes this bum! It's understandable that the younger set hates this kind of guys, but when even the older set begins to get sick of him, it's the limit. Any suggestions how we can get rid of him? ---" (6)

"The N.C." September 25th, "F.A.M.'s BULL SESSION

This has to do with a bit of softball of about Class AA Nisei standard and a blonde or two and how we got to know a bunch of nice people who were residents of a hamlet near our camp ...

It had been a year since our camp, Yard Creek by name, had been filled with Joes and Jacks from the coast via the bunk cars at Cambie Siding and via Hastings Park Manning Pool and Vancouver proper. There used to be a heck of a lot of us, young Nisei and old naturalized Issei. Tall and short, slim and fat, single

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and not so lucky, ... we were an assorted bunch. Fishermen from Steveston and the Prince Rupert region, storeworkers, millworkers, gardeners, students et al from Vancouver, Brittania, Woodfibre, the Fraser Valley and the Island. The first summer found us with lots to do and lots of company to do it with ...

And just like all the other camps the most popular pastime in the summer was playing ball ...

This year it turned out that there were thirty odd guys who wanted to play ball ...

Then Tragedy struck us!!!

*... The grounds were **PLOWED** up!!*

A hurried council ... and a decision to find ways and means of getting the grounds at Malakwa approaching the storekeeper-postmaster-justice of the peace Jack LeBeau for information regarding the ground. Jack, a thirtyish man with asthma something bad, was very cordial and revealed that as far as who owned the ground was concerned we didn't have to go any further because he was the man who had title ...

The next nite finds the whole gang ... about forty ... in baseball duds roaring down through Malakwa and on to the grounds

Among the spectators appear some of the local fellows and GALS ... there is a father who despite his advancing years (he has a son who plays ball and a daughter, sixteenish, whom we eye with admiration for she is a luscious blonde if there ever was one ...) is still enthused about ball and we invite him and a couple of the other fellows in ... before you know it we are getting big crowds and the people are inviting us to come and play with them.

We get to know their names ... They cheer for us and pick up our names ... but they have fun with Tosh ... Toru ... Machi ... and Min.

So we start to go to town more ... it's different from last year when the only reason we went to town was to buy tobacco or toilet paper ... now we walk into town and they say 'Hello, Ken' or 'Hi, Jimmy' and we answer 'Hello, Mr. So-and-so' or 'Hiya, Ray,' loafing around as usual, huh?

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And it just goes to show as Mr. Van Gilder said one day in June, 'Heck, if we had known what you fellows were really like we could have had lots of fun before this. Because we hadn't talked to you and we didn't know you were just like us, some of the folks around here were making nasty cracks about the Jap boys up in camp ...'

And those blondes? Well, of course we didn't get to know them that well ... especially when most of us had come back from our evacuation town visits and were still fresh with the memories, but isn't it nice to have a cute blonde who's slender, tender, and all, smile a sweet 'Hello' to you???"

A letter from "Mas" in Unit 3 at Taft to F.K. in New Denver (date indeterminate), was excerpted by the Censor but released: *"I'm in the wood-cutting gang. This is the best gang to be in. Just have to go out to where we work and do anything we want because we have no one to boss us. So we do a little work in the morning and in the afternoon go to sleep or take a book to read. Gee, there are a lot of mosquitos bother us so we make a fire or take mosquito netting. Some life eh?"* (18)

Tiller responded on October 15th to Mills request for a report on Mas' comments. The bush gang had a daily cordwood limit to cut so that the cost was no more than \$3.00 per cord piled so it could be measured. They also had to clear and maintain trails of sufficient standard so that the wood could be skidded to the roadside for loading which was also included in the \$3.00 cost per cord. He ended his report with: *"The letter writer is quite a young chap and it is noted he is always writing to a female, and it may be just possible that he is exaggerating somewhat in order to make a big fellow of himself".* (18)

Sometime in September, 1943, Selective Service began to try the movement of single, physically fit Japanese Canadian males to employment in essential industries by compulsory transfer under Selective Service Civilian Regulations. The movement was intended to be to Eastern Canada, but the Nisei in BC resisted this very strongly, and the eventual outcome was that less than 50 men went voluntarily to Ontario.(37)

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The Censor intercepted "*Posi's*" letter of October 28th to T.M. at Unit No. 1 Solsqua, and the excerpt follows: "*The boys are all having a meeting at school tonight. The main idea to start this evacuation business all over again. Now they want to send all the single boys out East. They sent us out here cause we were of Japanese origin, taking away all our properties and all our rights and yet they have the gall to call us Canadians now and put the boys under Selective Service. This is what they call a Democratic country. If this is the sample of Democracy I want no part of it. I think the boys at the road camps are in the best place at present. We can never tell what's in the future for anyone of us but the way things look now, it seems quite tough for the boys here*". (6)

MacNamara wrote to Wardle on November the 8th to tell him about the movement of single Japanese Canadian men under the Selective Service Regulations, and the need to tell the Engineers in charge of the camps so that they could make the necessary arrangements and adjustments. Wardle immediately asked Mills to notify Walker of the pending arrangements to move men, and for Walker to contact Collins to make satisfactory arrangements. The men were to be moved in groups of 15, and the plan was that 25 would go the camps at Schreiber, and the rest would go to: "*Northern Ontario camps, including Pigeon Timber Company Camp at Neys, Ontario. ... the Department of Labour wished the Japanese to be moved as expeditiously as possible*". It was in this memo that the first mention of the closure of the camps along the R-S Project was mentioned. Of course, this was predicated on the men complying with the Selective Service Regulations. None of the authorities had any idea that men who had been labelled "*enemy aliens*" and thrust into road camps without any say in the matter, for the purpose of mollifying the vocal rantings of the population of BC, would now resent the Government action of applying Regulations, governing Canadian citizens, for the purpose of moving them out of the Province, which was the Government's "*ultimate solution of the Japanese problem*". Of course, the other solution which the Government and others had in the backs of their minds was deportation at war's end of as many

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Japanese from Canada as they could possibly manage to exile out of the country.

As it turned out, there were only 57 Canadians and 60 Japanese Nationals in the R-S camps so that some work could continue even if the Canadians were removed. (32)

However, Walker reported to Mills on December 14th that even the threat of exile to Northern Ontario did not move many men to volunteer for any kind of private work, in British Columbia or Ontario. He reported that neither Collins nor Coles of the National Selective Service: *"had any clear conception of just how such transfers were to be handled"*. Ottawa had strongly suggested to Collins and Coles that no force was to be used to compel the Japanese to leave the road camps. He left Vancouver and went to Hope to inspect the camps there, and visited with the Supervisor of Japanese at Tashme where he learned that there were still a considerable number of single Canadian born men in Tashme whom the Commission had not been able to move from the town. Walker went on to Sicamous where he learned that only nine men out of 117 volunteered for work in BC lumber camps, and these were the best men in the camps, according to Walker. It was at this time that the order was given by Walker to Tiller to close the Solsqua Camp. It can be seen by the wording of Walker's report that he was not too happy about the situation which was developing with the road camps.

(38) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 9., for the complete text)

On December 24th, MacNamara wrote to Wardle telling him that the compulsory transfer of men East was being suspended and voluntary transfer to work in BC or Ontario was to be tried. This was to apply to both the men in the ghost towns and the road camps. However, if this did not work, compulsory transfer would again be instituted. (33)

Politics was always rearing its head, from the beginning to the end of the Road Projects, and probably was at its worst in the Sicstoke area with its rabid anti-Japanese politician MP Joe Green. Politics was certainly involved, and possibly jealousy, in a long confidential letter written to Green, the MP for the Sicstoke constituency, by one of his constituents on November the 18th.

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The letter alleged misuse and possibly misappropriation of Government supplies by the foreman and the purchasing agent for the Department, in Revelstoke. Extracts from the letter were forwarded to the Department of Labour and they follow:

"Extracts from confidential letter from Sicamous, dated November 18th, 1943, to Mr. J.B.Green, M.P., Sicstoke, British Columbia.

I am writing to you in regards to the closing of the Solsqua (Japanese) Road Camp. I was informed by Dave Miller who as you know lives here and is now employed as a purchasing agent for the Department of Mines & Resources at Revelstoke, that the Solsqua Camp is closing at the end of this month. The reason for this is to cut down on operating costs.

I wish to not only for myself but on behalf of the farmers and certain men who are employed at this camp to protest very strongly against the closing of this Camp. The above mentioned people are supplying this camp with farm produce and have laid in a stock intending to supply this camp during the winter months and the men employed at the camp will be thrown out of work. As luck would have it the people effected (sic) by the closing are good Liberals. As a matter of fact these are the only Liberals along the line that are getting the business that they deserve and the credit for that is due to Arnie Aspen who is timekeeper at this camp.

I would like to say that if it is necessary to close any of these camps the logical camp to close is the Yard Creek Camp, west of Malakwa. The plans now are to close Solsqua, and combine it with the Yard Creek Camp. This camp has completed it's (sic) work east of the camp and is now working on Cambie Hill 3 1/2 miles west of Yard Creek where the camp is situated. The work being done is widening and reducing the grade on this hill and the job will last until next summer, this work is just 1 1/4 miles east of Solsqua Camp.

Now I will try and explain to you the reason why Yard Creek Camp is to be kept open. First, the Yard Creek Camp has been the easiest and the best camp on the line to work in and has made the best progress. The reason for this is that there hasn't been any

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rock work, no mud to fight and have most of the time been working on the old road and the secret of the whole thing is that they have had nothing but coarse sand and small round rock to handle and have thereby been making the yardage. The foreman, Bill Ramsay is from here, and he is, well, quite a windbag, and a fast talker. He has convinced Tiller, the engineer that he is the only foreman that is getting any work done and he has the showing to prove it, (and he has also had the machinery), Tiller can't see that he has had such good material to work with and he believes him and also quotes him. Actually Bill Ramsay with the aid of Bob Blair and their smooth ways are running things to suit themselves and they are smart enough to make Tiller think that they are following his orders and really it is just the opposite.

Bill Ramsay got his job through Bruhn (Author's note: the former Provincial Minister of Public Works.) and it was the last thing Bruhn did before he died. We around here know Ramsay and Blair very well, too well in fact, and we can figure out their moves before they make them and we can see what they are leading up to. Tiller and his superiors are being sucked right in and we have seen it coming for many months now and things are happening exactly as we had them figured out. First with Ramsay supplying them with fish and Blair with free boat rides and pheasants. Bill Ramsay had a four yard government truck haul gravel from Yard Creek to his place here and gravelled his road for three hundred yards. He also had the bulldozer when it was plowing here last winter plough out his road every time it was down here, and the man who was supplying half of Sicamous with milk couldn't get his road ploughed and this road was used by farmers and families.

Ramsay was also able to use his boat for fishing every Sunday since last April and also going out for two or three days at a time. The Oil Controller allows such boats as his 6 gallons of gas for the year. Where was this man getting the gas from? Rather obvious isn't it?

Ramsay has free use of a Department of Mines & Resources car which he uses to come home here every week-end. He always has a good load of groceries every time he comes home, more than what an average person would buy from week to week. Before he

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had the use of this car he used to ship in groceries on one of the freight trucks. Knowing these people like we do, they are certainly living a lot higher than they have been used to. They seem to have an abundance of coffee and sugar. Also a job like Ramsay's doesn't pay enough for the amount of liquor he seems to get and the partying he does. Last week-end he went on a pheasant hunting trip to Salmon Arm; left on a Friday night and came back Sunday night and he told me he had 3 qts. of Rye, 2 qts. of Scotch and a pint of Rye. I saw one quart and a pint. This man got his job through Bruhn. Years ago Bruhn got him a job as storekeeper in one of the relief camps on the Sicamous - Canoe road and he was fired because of stock shortage. Groceries etc. I have seen on Ramsay's porch gallon cans of Shell flytox and also Shell spray guns, the only type of this kind that I have seen before have been in the road camps. Also the average person buys pint sized cans of fly-spray. The Shell brand cannot be bought locally.

Tiller, by the way approved of a gravel pit owned by H.Stepp of Sicamous, bought it for \$500., had the bulldozer make a road into it which took it nearly a week, and that bulldozer is worth \$50. per day. After two days of hauling, the gravel pit played out. The shovel ran into solid rock and there is no more gravel to be had from that pit. The gravel they did get was rather expensive, don't you think? You or I would have run test holes in it to find out how much gravel we could get before buying. This gave the local residents quite a laugh and of course the Government got the blame. Especially so when there is an unlimited amount of gravel which is excellent road making material, about 3 miles further on, along the old town road and can be had at no cost to the Government as it belongs to them. But Tiller says they can't afford to haul gravel that distance, but he has the intentions of hauling men 14 miles per day.

Now for a short word regarding the Japanese at Solsqua Camp. These men are really up-in-arms about the proposed move. Not one wants to come under Bill Ramsay. He has made quite a reputation for himself. There are three things they are talking about doing. First, refusing to move as half of them are old men, and they can't stand travelling back and forth in open trucks for

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such a distance, second, petitioning the Department of Mines and Resources officials over Tiller's head of course, and also Security Commission and pointing out in their petition how ridiculous it is making this move to a camp that is twice as far from the work and that there is plenty of work on both sides of their camp east and west,- which there is. Third applying for transfer in bulk either to other jobs in the province or in the east. They don't care. These Japanese can see the score where Tiller can't and he is going to have trouble". (6)

Extracts from the letter ended up with Wardle, who asked for an investigation and report from Walker. Walker was also asked to report to Green personally on his findings. Walker produced two reports for Mills, one *"Private and Confidential"* and the other *"ESPECIALLY CONFIDENTIAL"*. The accusations made by the letter writer were in the main refuted by Walker in his *"private and confidential letter"* to Mills, and there were no grounds for dismissal of the two men. He had no reservations with Mills sending this report to Green. His *"especially confidential"* letter dealt primarily with the politics involved in the discussions he had with Green, and to Green's statement *"that from now on politics and patronage were again to enter the field on our projects I expressed some doubt as to the authenticity of this policy, since my office had received no information to this effect, and I stated to Mr. Green that until I had received definite instructions from Ottawa regarding this change of policy I proposed to carry on according to the declared policy of the Government at the beginning of the war, namely that politics and patronage were out for the duration"*. (6) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 10., for complete text of Walker's reports)

Walker's report did not sit well with Green, and at the end of January he wrote the following letter to Wardle.

(The following is a copy of a *"PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL"* letter which was written by Green, to Wardle on January the 31st, 1944.)

"Dear Mr. Wardle:

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Possibly you will recall my writing to you last fall and enclosing a copy of a letter complaining about existing conditions in the Japanese camps on the Revelstoke-Sicamous road. Mr. Walker visited me in Kamloops afterwards and said that he had investigated all the allegations and found them without foundation. My only remark in that connection is that according to our laws the prisoner is not permitted to choose his jury.

The engineer in charge of that work does not know his business, and the C.C.F. gang have got him pretty well in tow. This letter that I am enclosing will give you an idea of what is going on there. It does seem to me we should interest ourselves before it is too late.

Thanking you for past consideration, and with every good wish, I am

Yours truly,

*(Sgd.) J.B.Green M.P.,
Sicstoke, B.C." (6)*

(see Appendix Chapter 5, 11., for the other letter)

This letter from Green drew a predictable response from Walker on February 3rd. Excerpts follow:

" ... In reply I would ... call Mr. Green's attention to his statement ... to our Director ... which I quote:

'My only remark in that connection is that according to our laws the prisoner is not permitted to choose his jury'.

In making any such statement Mr. Green has apparently overlooked the fact that so far as I know there is no prisoner. Secondly I would remark that if we for the moment accept Mr. Green's term of 'prisoner', the prisoners were absolutely condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered without trial of any kind, and with no substantiation whatsoever of the charges made against them. This procedure does not follow Canadian law procedure as I understand it, nor does Canadian law provide for the sacrificing of any individual by political parties without a full dress investigation, in which the so-called prisoner (Mr. Green's

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nomenclature) is given a chance to prove or disprove charges made by anonymous personages.

... There is no doubt whatever in my mind but that it is a straight political racket.

... it is plain to me that the writer of this letter is one Arnie Aspen
...

... Aspen's services were dispensed with on my instructions, and for the reasons as given verbally by me to Mr. Green in Sicstoke on the 3rd of December.

Dan Legrew never was a good construction foreman. In fact every time I visited the Revelstoke-Sicamous Project while Legrew was foreman I wondered why Mr. Tiller kept him on. ... Legrew, on the other hand, is a fair pullgrader man and was engaged on this work as long as he wished to remain in this position. He quit voluntarily as a grader man ...

In so far as Arnie Aspen is concerned I have always known that he was more or less a 'political healer' even when he worked for our Department ... He is the man, I fully believe, who was responsible for several of the Japanese strikes ... He can best be described as a bag of wind which becomes unduly inflated for little reason ...

Re replacing of original key men on this project, I might state that the services of such key men were secured by the - then - foreman of the Public Works Department, Revelstoke who - years ago - was a Liberal. When these camps were being started up I suppose Mr. Joe Joseph did pick out Liberals for key positions, but if this was the basis Mr. Joseph was working on he certainly used very poor judgement in some of the subjects picked.

In conclusion I might state that I do not think for one moment that Mr. Tiller pays the slightest attention to the political leanings of any man on the project, and in this he is carrying out Departmental instructions". (6) (see Appendix Chapter 5, 12., for complete text)

This appeared to have been the end of this particular bone of contention, but Green was to be heard from again when the Project was being completely shut down in July.

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"The N.C." November 27th, *"Mountain Hermitage* by K.W.

In his recent telegram to the Nelson Board of Trade, the Minister of Labor, Humphrey Mitchell, made use of a rather significant term. He was answering a protest from the Nelson organization against Selective Service orders forbidding the employment of unmarried Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. He used these words:

'Present movement of single Japanese east by Selective Service is part of general re-allocation program to disperse part of Japanese out of B.C.' This is the first time that the term 'disperse' has been used in an official announcement of any kind since the wheels of wartime evacuation first began to turn. It indicates that government policy has now crystallized fully towards this compromise solution to the 'Japanese problem'. That solution - 'disperse part of Japanese out of B.C.' - has been discussed often enough. But until Mr. Mitchell sent his wire, no official use of the term had ever been made.

LONG-RANGE POLICY

True, throughout the past year administrative developments through the Security Commission have provided the general outline of the policy toward which the Government has been leaning. This was, in fact, foreshadowed as early as December 3, 1942, with the passing of an order-in-council appointing a general 're-allocation supervisor' whose job it was (again in the words of Mr. Mitchell) 'to develop the long-range policy of assimilating the Japanese as far as possible into productive employment across Canada ... to aid the war effort'.

From early last spring accordingly, attempts to recruit workers to enter productive employment have been steady, and in a narrow sense, vigorous. Numbers of speakers, representing interests in need of labor, have visited the evacuation settlements. Education and 'propaganda' has been steady and insistent. And mild forms of pressure have been exerted in various ways to encourage voluntary re-allocation. The emphasis has been placed on the sending of evacuees anywhere east of the Rockies, but acute labor

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shortages within British Columbia, up until recently, have not been ignored.

It is clear now, however, that two significant turns in policy have developed. First, that through the medium of Selective Service greater pressure, amounting to compulsion, is to be directed to push re-allocation. Secondly that the 'general re-allocation program' is to be consciously directed in a manner that will 'disperse part of Japanese out of B.C.'.

There is evidence enough to indicate that several highly-placed civil servants in Ottawa believe that the chief cause of all the trouble was our former coastal concentration. Thus the 'expedient solution' would embrace an appeasement of strong 'anti-Japanese' political and economic interests, who would be expected to campaign violently against a general return of evacuees to their former homes. At the same time it would not amount to a complete sacrifice of very fundamental principles, such as would be required by the impression left by some highly vociferous elements in the country, the Hitler mentality on racial questions is by no means a general affliction of the Canadian people.

THE TIME IS NOW

Obviously if this expedient solution is to be achieved, the time for doing so is now, before the end of the war, when much greater problems of rehabilitation will present themselves. If large numbers of evacuees now reasonably well settled in interior British Columbia, are loath to move again - as they have been - and the voluntary program bogs down, then more vigorous steps must be taken.

Patently, if this is the thought of the Government, re-allocation is simply a more politically cautious term than 'permanent re-settlement'. And there is an obvious suggestion that a too strict observance of early agreement to remove evacuees from sections of the country, to which they have been re-allocated, is not to be counted on. Southern Alberta particularly will be interested in this angle.

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Equally patent, Selective Service transfers are not likely to stop short at unemployed single men. The thought may well be that if sufficient numbers of able-bodied men, single or married, or even unmarried women, are gradually moved, then families will follow them as a matter of course without the Government having to take too great a hand in the matter.

MORE INSISTENT PRESSURE

It is impossible to guess now how long the program might take. If signs develop pointing to an early conclusion of the war, haste is to be expected. If contrary signs appear, the need for haste will not be so great. But it appears certain that the more or less leisurely approach of the past months is likely to be abandoned and more insistent pressure applied.

There is not space here to argue the pros and cons of 'dispersal' itself. Briefly and objectively, of course, it is preposterous to think that a province of British Columbia's size and population is not able to absorb without difficulty every person of Japanese origin in the entire country. But it will be an ironic development if it works out - as it unquestionably is - that the most capable and productive elements of our racial group are moved east of the Rockies, and the least desirable elements left to the Pacific province."

1944 - - - the beginning of the end for the R-S Project and continuing labour problems. On January 16th, "Tak" in Unit No.2 at Yard Creek wrote to S.M. in Tashme, extract: "Guess you've noticed the change of address -- maybe you already heard about it. Anyway, we got shoved into a hell of a place. It was bad enough at the former place out this place its undescrivable in words. It's simply disgusting. We already worked a whole week and time just drags. The foreman as expressed by word is a devil - the grub we get now - wow - never seen anything like it before - - have to go hungry everyday. Darn it - everything haywire. Perhaps we'll see a better day". (18)

A letter by "Tom" to S.M. on the 24th had this portion excised: "Couple of weeks ago our camp closed down and now we are shoved into this dump. Everything is haywire here. Up till now we had a good foreman, grub and everything, out here it's exactly the

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opposite. Our former timekeeper was discharged a week ago just because he was sympathizing with the Japanese in these road camps. What a rotten trick, eh"? (18)

"Tom" wrote another letter on the 31st to F.Y.O. at Taylor Lake Siding BC, which the Censor released, an excerpt reads: *"Solsqua Camp life was a paradise, owing to the good treatment from the foreman, the good food, and best of all the location of our camp".* The Censor comments, *"He then goes on to complain about the working conditions in the camp where he is currently employed".* (6)

Wardle received these excerpts, and asked for a report on the situation since the complaints were of the same general nature.

Walker responded on the 3rd of March and reported that the complaints appeared to be originating from the men who had been relocated from the Solsqua Camp. He pointed out that there had not been any complaints from the Yard Creek Camp until the Solsqua Camp had been amalgamated with it, and in his words: *"it appears to me that the main, and in fact only reasons for Japanese objections to this camp are:*

- 1. The distance Yard Creek Camp is from the nearest store or settlement.*
- 2. The fact that the foreman at this camp insists on at least a certain amount of work per day per man.*
- 3. There is a white cook in charge of the kitchen rather than a Japanese cook, and whom the Japanese cannot intimidate.*
- 4. It is my firm belief that much of this discontent by recently transferred Japanese originated from the actions and speeches of one - Arnie Aspen, formerly timekeeper at the Solsqua Camp, and the man referred to in two of the Japanese letters as 'our former timekeeper was discharged because he was sympathizing with the Japanese in these road camps.'*

In conclusion I might state that in my opinion no attention should be paid to these, or any other similar complaints re meals served or conditions at Yard Creek Camp.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Dr. Sutherland, our Medical Officer for this particular project has, time and again, stated that the Yard Creek Camp is one of the best conditioned and operated Japanese Camps which he has ever visited". (6)

In early February, with only 106 men in the four camps on the Project, the question of closing one of the Griffin Lake, Yard Creek or Taft Camps arose. However, Walker was pleased with the work being done by the smaller number of men in each camp, and he was not prepared to recommend closure of a camp because: *"I believe we get more individual work out of the Japanese when they are located in fairly small camps. ... and in my opinion should be continued as at present organized". (30)*

Near the end of February, S.M. at Taft wrote to I. S. at Nakusp, BC. The Censor released the letter and an excerpt follows: *" Boy there are a lot of trouble going on since yesterday. Nobody will volunteer to work in the kitchen and to burn the bath so the foreman was sore as hell. Well anyhow the foreman succeeded somehow, but the guys that were appointed for these jobs are cussing like hell. How long they're going to last out I don't know, but I hope they stick to the job all this month at least".*

There were a number of letters on the problems at Yard Creek during the first three weeks in March, and the two which follow are indicative of the many which the Censor excerpted. On the 14th of March, K.N. wrote to his sister Y.N. at Tashme: *" Since last Thursday our brother and all the others at this camp have struck work. The reason is that the foremen was not very good and they were asking for a change. They asked the RCMP to have this change effected, but up until today the only reply received is that the present foreman cannot be changed by any means. The men at the camp are absolutely united in saying they will not go back to work until the foreman is changed. Not one man is at work now.*

They say that unless they go to work they will all be handed over to the Selective Service. But the men say they will go anywhere Selective Service will send them.

THE EXILES

Most of the men are packed up and ready to leave tomorrow. They are simply awaiting an answer from Selective Service". The letter was released.

The following letter was condemned. Y.K. in Revelstoke wrote to C.M. at Eagle Lake, Guscome, BC: " *There has been a bit of trouble at our camp recently. We asked a change of foreman but as this was refused we all quit work. Eleven men wanted to go to Vernon as farmers. I, with eleven others, went to work on the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The start of this trouble was when five men were ordered to go to Taft and Griffin Lake to work. When they refused to go, their food was cut off for two days. We all got angry at this. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police came and told us to go to work. They gave us fifteen minutes in which to make up our minds. The five finally went to another camp. The rest of us, when they refused to change the foreman, were out of work and finally had to disperse elsewhere". (45)*

Despite Walker's optimism and hopes for keeping all the remaining camps open, the beginning of the end for Yard Creek was only about four weeks away. On March the 9th, Constable Cunningham of the Vernon detachment of the RCMP wrote the following report on problems involving a group of six men who had been transferred, along with others, from the Solsqua Camp to the Yard Creek Camp.

* * * *

MARCH 9TH, 1944.

RE:	T.S. No.03549;	Y.J. No.00715;
	S.M. No.08751;	M.M. No.07548; (YARD CREEK
	T.M. No.06831;	B.M. No.00973; JAP. CAMP)

1. The above named Japanese were moved from Solsqua to Yard Creek some weeks ago as a result of the Solsqua Camp being closed. Mr. Ramsay, foreman of the Yard Creek, received instructions from the resident engineer, to move these men to the Taft and Griffin Lake camps where they could be more easily employed. Mr. Ramsay advised the Japanese accordingly on the 7th instant but they refused to go stating they had been moved unnecessarily from the Solsqua Camp and were of the opinion that the camp should not have been closed.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

2. On the instructions from the N.C.O. in charge of this detachment a patrol was made to Yard Creek Camp on the 8th instant, by Cst. Murray and the writer. Mr. Ramsay was contacted and stated that these Japanese refused to move and that their rations had been forwarded to Taft and Griffin Lake Camps, and they had not eaten that day. After talking with these men for considerable time they agreed to move providing they could all go to the same camp. This was arranged and they left Yard Creek by truck at 5.30 P.M. for Griffin Lake.

3. There are two of the Japanese above mentioned, namely T.S. No.03549 and S.M. No.08751 who appear to be responsible for most of this trouble. These men are nothing less than agitators and have succeeded in stirring up considerable trouble at Yard Creek. The fact of the matter being that the foreman and timekeeper of the Solsqua Camp were too easy with the Japanese and did not require the amount of work which is desired by Mr. Ramsay at Yard Creek. Mr. Tiller, the resident engineer, of the project, has been contacted at Revelstoke this A.M. by long distance telephone and requested that these two men be removed from the project. He is of the opinion that they will continue to cause trouble at Griffin Lake and made the suggestion that they be moved by the Selective Service. S. is 20 years of age and M. 22. Could this matter be taken up with the B.C. Security Commission, please?

Expense: F.93, Mar. 1st-15th-1944.

CONCLUDED HERE. HANDED OVER.

Cst. C.G. Cunningham,

Reg. No. 13475

No.11."

* * * *

"The O.C. "E" Division
R.C.M.P. Vancouver, B.C.

Sir:

FORWARDED. Conditions at Yard Creek Camp are far from satisfactory (see report forwarded herewith). If the trouble

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makers were moved east by Selective Service, it might have a very good effect on the Japanese in this camp.

1. Relative to the above named Japanese Camp, a telegram was received in this detachment in the A.M. of the 8th instant as follows: REQUEST THAT YOU COME AND INVESTIGATE MATTERS THAT ARE UNSATISFACTORY, signed Japanese Camp.

2. A patrol was made to this camp by Cst. Murray and this writer on instruction from the N.C.O. of this detachment. Mr. Ramsay, Camp foreman, was contacted but stated he knew nothing of the telegram above mentioned. The patrol was at the camp for a period of fifteen minutes when all the Japanese of the Camp, who were working some two miles west, arrived in two trucks. The foreman asked why they left their work without his permission to which they replied they had matters to talk over with the Police.

3. The Japanese were taken into a bunkhouse where their grievances were voiced. It appears that these men are not satisfied to work under Mr. Ramsay, who, in their opinion does not listen to their requests regarding the work. On several occasions Japanese complained to the foreman that they did not like the particular job on which they were placed. Mr. Ramsay explained to them that he had nothing else for them and if they did not like it they could go to the bunkhouse. In all instances so as far as could be understood, the complaints against the foreman are all of petty nature, and it appears these men have been stirred up by the younger Japanese who were moved from the Solsqua Camp to Yard Creek some weeks ago. All Japanese in the camp refused to go back to work unless the foreman was removed. It is quite unlikely that Mr. Ramsay will be removed as his work is satisfactory to the Department. Mr. Tiller, resident engineer, states that he will not move Ramsay under any circumstances. The Japanese in camp said they were quite willing to be moved to any point by Selective Service. There are no Japanese Nationals at this Camp. Mr. Tiller was contacted by long distance telephone this A.M. and was of the opinion these men would return to work, if they do not he is prepared to let the Selective Service take any action they deem necessary.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

4. Close touch will be kept with conditions at Yard Creek and a further report submitted within the next week. Could Mr. Collins please be advised as to the condition existing here.

*The O.C. "E" Division,
R.C.M.P. Vancouver, B.C.*

*Cst. G.C. Cunningham,
Reg. No. 13475." (32)*

Tiller wrote a report on the problems at the Yard Creek Camp, to Wardle on the 11th. He noted that the wire that the RCM Police received coincided with the attempt by the camp authorities to remove six men from the camp and it was believed that when the men accepted their transfer, all was well. However, the problem the men wanted to discuss with the Police, was the removal of Foreman Ramsay. Tiller continued: *"The R.C.M.P. went into this thoroughly and they could not establish an instance where Ramsay had not been fair and reasonable in his treatment. The R.C.M.P. then told them that if they did not return to work in the morning (March 9th) he would have no alternative than to turn them over to the Selective Service Board for their action and said that the Selective Service would probably move them. At this they all remarked they did not mind and were willing to go wherever the Selective Service Board desired to send them (a reversal of their attitude in December when the Board representative visited the camps with a view to sending them into the lumber industry".)*

Tiller told the Constable on the 9th, when he was contacted by phone, that Ramsay would not be removed and he was agreeable to the matter being turned: *"over to the S.S. Board for its action".* The Vernon office of the SS Board was advised on the 9th that the men had refused to go to work that morning and that they were prepared to move wherever placed. Vancouver office was notified, and Vernon was awaiting reply on where to send the men.

On the 20th, Walker wrote to Mills sending him all the: *"copies of the wires, letters and memorandum with reference to a strike which developed at Yard Creek Camp on Wednesday the 8th instant".* The strike had gone on for several days when Walker contacted Collins on the 14th, to get some action from either the Commission or Selective Service, to remove the men from the camp. Later, on the same day, he reported to Mills he was informed by Tiller that the Vernon Office of the Selective Service

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had been notified not to do anything because the matter: "*was strictly a Mines and Resources problem*". With this information, Walker immediately wired Collins with the result that a meeting was scheduled for the 16th with officials of the BCSC, the SS and Mitchell, representing the Department. The result of this meeting was that Mitchell was told that all the Japanese men would be removed from the Yard Creek Camp no later than the 21st. (32)

This strike occasioned another political letter to Green from an anonymous writer and it follows: (Author's note: it is probable that Green did not include the letter writer's name when he sent a copy of the letter to Wardle.)

"March 20, 1944.

Mr. J.B. Green, M. P.,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Friend:

Thinking you might be interested in some of the doings around here, I thought I would drop you a line.

As you probably know, the Japs are beginning to migrate from the road camps, particularly from Yard Creek, our old friend, Bill Ramsay's stamping ground. I believe the Japs went on strike about ten days ago and refused to work while Ramsay was there and demanded his removal, which of course was refused. The upshot of the whole matter was that Mr. Collins, Chairman of the Security Board, Mr. Wardle and Mr. Walker for the Government came in to explore the situation, so accompanied by members of the Selective Service Board they decided to close the camp as far as the Japs were concerned and sent them to various other jobs as far as they could and the remainder were sent to the ghost towns.

I believe there are about seventy Japs employed at Taft and Griffin Lake at present, but Tiller told me he expected a lot of those would be going to other work very soon. If that be the case I'm afraid that the work done so far on the Road will be to some extent lost, as in my opinion the work so far done is not in condition to stand much traffic or weather conditions which exist in this country. We therefore will be loaded up with added expense and inconvenience

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probably for some time to come. It seems regrettable to me that this state of affairs should have been allowed to come to such a conclusion. First we have to keep a lot of Japs who at the moment are not employed at any gainful work and who through proper handling could have made a good showing this year on the Road. I have not any brief for the Japs, but I do not feel they are wholly responsible for the trouble.

Judging from what I have seen at Yard Creek last Fall, it was my guess that sooner or later there would be something doing there.

Bill Ramsay, as you probably know, was Mr. Tiller's prize foreman. According to Tiller, Ramsay could handle any contingency, and we were always told these things and Ramsay was quoted continually, but as you are probably aware we had no strikes or refusals to work or trouble of any great degree, and Bill Isaacson who was the foreman at Three Valley is at Taft now and has been there since last October and has had no trouble, so I'll leave you to draw your conclusions. I still think this man had a lot to do in losing the last Prov. election and now our only chance of accomplishing any work on the Highway is shot. So what has been decided upon by the powers that be I do not know. I saw Tiller the other day and he said he could not see any chance of needing me this year, which is quite alright, as there is only the two camps now, Griffin Lake and Taft, and altho I am the oldest man on the job I would not hardly consider taking this man's job as he is to some extent crippled and this is his only means of a livelihood.

Well, I guess I'd better lay off on this, but thought you might be interested in the situation.

Well it is getting near spring here and the weather is pretty good. The family are all pretty good. Hoping Mrs. Green and yourself are in the best of health,

Sincerely yours", (32)
(no signature)

This letter, of course, eventually got to Walker for his comments and they were quite predictable under the circumstances, as he did not have any love for the letters from Green. Extracts of his reply to Mills follow: "... I cannot see that it is worth my while to make a

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special trip to Sicstoke to interview Mr. Green, particularly since the said gentleman already has been verbally advised of my views and convictions re operations on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. ... I need not point out some of the most palpable errors which appear ...particularly the statement that Messrs. Wardle and Walker went out to Revelstoke ... you are well aware of the fact that Mr. Wardle was no nearer than 3,000 miles from this particular camp and I would advise also that I did not go to Revelstoke in this connection. ... The statements made ... are simply a sample of mis-statements made in every letter which has been submitted by Mr. Green. ... Paragraph 5, page 2 of the letter ... plainly shows what is the basis of all complaints as submitted by Mr. Green, particularly the sentence which I quote: 'I still think this same man had a lot to do in losing the last Provincial election'

I believe that when reporting previously on trouble at both Solsqua and Yard Creek, I mentioned the fact that it was my belief that much of this trouble was caused directly by political friends of Mr. Green, in stirring up trouble among the Japanese, in an endeavour to force our Service to dispense with the services of Mr. Tiller, and replace him by inefficient men who happened to be of the proper political stripe.

If Mr. Green or anyone else proposes to send in to our Minister's Office or to our own head office at Ottawa, further letters of a similar nature to that which was forwarded with your letter of March 29th, I would recommend that instructions be given out for the complete closing out of all Japanese operations on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. I see no virtue in senior officials in the Banff Office spending much of their time in answering letters of such a nature as that submitted by Mr. Green or in refuting statements as made by him.

For your information I enclose herewith a copy of a letter just received from Revelstoke, written and signed by 'Charlie Kuno', a Japanese who formerly worked under Bill Ramsay at Yard Creek. This letter was sent to Mr. Ramsay absolutely without any solicitation. ...". (32)

* * * *

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

"COPY/VFT

Revelstoke, B.C.

March 21st, 1944.

Dear Bill:

How are you keeping yourself. I'm same as usual. Today I just thought of dropping you a few lines.

I got a job working on a C.P.R. gang, and I'll be heading to Golden tomorrow. Thanks for the advice to work in Sicamous. I hope I'll be seeing you again. You have treated me very kindly and I would like to thank you very very much. I'll be missing you and the old road camp. By the way how's your boy getting along. I hope he's getting better.

Hoping to see you soon, until then, hope you'll be in your best health and all the luck to you.

Yours truly,

(Sgd.) Charlie Kuno." (32)

Between the above correspondence and June 1st, there was nothing in the files concerning the R-S highway project. However, on the 1st Wardle wrote to MacNamara about recruitment of men from the road camps. He reported that on May 27th, there were: "
... Japanese in our camps as follows:

Yellowhead-Blue River Project - 90

Hope-Princeton Project - 240

Revelstoke-Sicamous Project- 58"

He pointed out to MacNamara that the policy which was being followed was the recruitment of men from the R-S project first, then from the H-P project leaving men on the Y-BR project as long as possible.

Ironically, the C.N.R. was anxious to recruit two gangs of fifty men each to work on track maintenance in the Albreda Subdivision. The irony was not lost on Wardle as he concluded his letter with: "*It is noted that while in 1942 we were obliged to close down camps along the Canadian National Railways in the Yellowhead-Blue River area for security reasons, the Railway Company are now willing to accept some of the same Japanese for actual maintenance work on their tracks in the same area*". (32)

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On June 3rd, Walker, in response to a query from Mills about the possible closing of the R-S Project recommended the complete closure so that the men could be sent to work for the CNR on their track maintenance gangs. News of the closing of the Project began to circulate in the area, and Green made one last kick at Tiller with the following letter:

* * * *

"(COPY)

CONFIDENTIAL

Ottawa, July 8, 1944.

*The Honourable Ian Mackenzie
Minister of Pensions and National Health,
Ottawa, Ontario.*

Dear Ian;

Enclosed is a copy of a telegram received from J.R.McCormack, Liberal Organizer, of which I spoke to you yesterday evening.

Tiller, the man mentioned in this telegram, is the engineer who has been in charge of the road betterment carried on by the Japanese in the Revelstoke-Sicamous area. All during the construction of the Big Bend highway, we received excellent cooperation from the engineer in charge, but since Tiller has been there everything that is humanly possible has been done by him to keep the merchants and the people of Revelstoke generally up in arms against his actions. He has refused at all times to cooperate, and it is my understanding he made the statement when he came to Revelstoke that he had been advised by the Park Superintendent that Revelstoke was a nest of politicians and should be cleaned up.

The Liberals have not received the slightest consideration from him at any time. As a matter of fact, he deliberately goes out of his way to discriminate against them, and I am reliably informed he has now gone so far as to say that the camps are being closed (in all likelihood because the Japanese are required other places in occupations that are considered to be more essential to the war effort) because of the constant irritation caused by complaints to the Department by myself and others.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

I am now informed that since these camps are being closed Tiller, Peeters, and Blair are going to Blue River. May I make this statement as emphatically as it is possible to be made: I do not want Tiller, Peeters, or Blair working any place in my constituency.

If you can do anything to bring about a better state of affairs in Revelstoke and better cooperation between the Department of Mines and Resources and myself it will be much appreciated.

Yours truly,

J.B.Green, M.P., Sicstoke, B.C." (6)

This letter eventually got to Wardle, and he asked Mills to find out from Walker how long the white camp would be in operation and how soon Tiller could be transferred elsewhere; when would Peeters and Blair be finished working at Revelstoke; and what was the final condition of the road, since McCormack had wired Green that: "*it is being left in a dreadful condition*". (6)

The Secretary of the Revelstoke Liberal Association also heard the rumours and wrote the following letter to Green:

* * * *

"COPY

Revelstoke, B. C.,

June 13th, 1944.

*Mr. J.B. Green, M. P.,
Ottawa, Ontario.*

Dear Mr. Green:

I have been requested to write to you regarding the Japanese camps on the Revelstoke Sicamous project. There have been persistent rumours around town that these camps will be closed within the next twelve days.

It would appear that this project is getting a bad deal all round and from what I have been able to learn the other ones are being given fairer treatment, such as not taking so many Japs away and the laying off of other personnel.

We would like you to contact the Minister and do all in your power to have these camps kept open this year. I am sure if they are

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closed now it will be a black eye for the Liberal Party and just the thing our opposition would like to see us do.

I know there has been a lot of dissatisfaction with some of the personnel but I do not think this is bad enough to close the camps. There may also be some inside work going on to have the camps closed and we wish to have you informed as to what we hear and for you to be on guard at all times.

Trusting you will give this matter your early attention,

Yours truly,

Sgd.

*R.A. Mackinlay,
Secretary,*

Revelstoke Liberal Association." (31)

* * * *

"The N.C." July 22nd,

*"Road Camps Close as Men
Transfer to Essential Work*

Revelstoke, B.C. - The five hundred Canadian-born and Naturalized Japanese that originally worked on the Revelstoke-Sicamous road project two years ago dwindled into nothing as the closing of the project came into effect this month. About a year ago a little over a fifth of the original contingent of men still remained in the camps.

The Department of Mines and Resources is now assembling materials left in the camps and it is expected that within a few weeks the project will be a thing of the past reports the Revelstoke Revue.

The men have already moved from the camps and most of them are now working on section gangs for the C.P.R.

The first road project in B.C. to be closed, the Revelstoke-Sicamous road camps were comprised almost completely of Canadian-born and Naturalized Japanese. This was due to the clamour raised by the local residents in regard to having Japanese Nationals working in the locality. The Japanese Nationals make up the workers on the other road projects.

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The last in the line to be closed down, the Griffin Lake Camp followed the closure of Taft Camp early this month, bringing to an end, two years work on this section of the Trans Canada highway.

A number of sections of the road are unfinished, and speculation is rife as to whether the provincial government will continue the work.

The question of manpower militates against any large scale resumption of activity, it is believed said the Revelstoke newspaper."

During the two years and approximately four months that the Japanese-Canadian men had worked on the R-S Highway Project, the men had improved, aligned and reconstructed various sections of some 44 1/2 miles of the Trans-Canada Highway westward from Revelstoke.

The two letters which follow are not relevant to this Chapter, but happened to be in the same file, and were interesting, so they are placed here as another example of the letters which were written from the internment camps.

The first letter was written by S.O. at Internment Camp 101 at Angler to his wife Y.O. in Popoff, Slocan, BC. It was in Japanese written on April 6th, 1945, and the letter was condemned. The following is an excerpt: "*By the way, I told you in my last letter about the Spanish Consul who came to visit us here. Indeed he is a smart diplomat with deception and trickery in his dealings with us. Anyway he is through with his job for us. He is a white man we do not expect much from any of them. We who have not done anything wrong, we will carry on without anyone being responsible for us. If we fail we'll just call it fate*".

The second was written by Toshikazu Tanaka, at the same Internment Camp, on April 16th, 1945, to his wife Kizue Tanaka, in Tashme, BC. It was also in Japanese, and the Censor released the letter. It reads as follows: "*We are not in want, as we have food and clothing supplied us. The numberless comforts we receive such as books, sports outfits and musical instruments are given to us from the International Christian organization Young Men's Christian Association. They have their headquarters in*

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Toronto. They have been good to us, so at every chance we get, we should repay their kindness in some way. Please tell the children and everyone of their kindness.

When Mr. Akiyama, Suzuki and Komiyo went back to Japan, I especially asked them to tell the Japanese authorities the kindness of this Christian organisation. I explained it to the young people in here, and they agree with me, but a few of the pig-headed old men can't understand...". (45)

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APPENDIX CHAPTER 5

1. COPY

Ottawa, March 13th, 1942.

Dear Mr. MacNamara:

Attached herewith for your information, is a copy of my letter of today's date to Mr. H.C.Grout, confirming arrangements made for the immediate supplying of work-car units to open up the Revelstoke- Sicamous project. I discussed this matter yesterday with Mr. Wallace, General Executive Assistant to the President.

I am also enclosing a copy of my letter to our Supervising Engineer, Mr. C.M.Walker, at Banff, so you can see how this whole matter is being arranged.

We will, of course, need formal approval for this project, and I would suggest you have your Minister send a letter to the Honourable Mr. Crerar, recommending work on this section of the Trans-Canada Highway by the Japanese Nationals, as a project of national benefit.

I would also suggest that your Minister or you write a letter to Mr. Grout, confirming the decision to place Japanese Nationals (totalling 600) in camps for road work between Revelstoke and Sicamous, and asking for the co-operation of his Company.

It is possible the Canadian Pacific Railway Company may register some objection to this project, since the camps will be along their main line, and perhaps somewhat closer to the railway than our camps between Yellowhead and Blue River.

Yours very truly,

A.MacNamara, Esq.,
Associate Deputy Minister,
Department of Labour,
Ottawa, Ontario. (30)

Director.

2. *(Following is a letter of the A.B. Closure Company.)*

Sicamous, B.C.
May 4, 1942.

S.R.Noble, Esq.,

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Sugar Controller
Ottawa.

Dear Sir:

You ask me as a private individual to ration myself on sugar. You also ask me as a retailer to ration my customers on sugar and I am doing the best I know how.

Our Government sees fit to put several hundred Japs on the main line of the C.P.R. between here and Revelstoke, where they will be handy in an emergency to Sabotage our Railway and main Highway, but they have omitted to ration them in any way. The white cooks claim they know nothing of any sugar rationing. How Come??? I cannot swear to this but I have it on very good authority that iced cakes are among the refuse in the garbage pail. You have asked the public to report any infractions of the Sugar rations prices etc. Hence this letter.

I would like to suggest that all Enemy Aliens be forbidden the use of any goods that have to be imported. They are the cause of the shortage. Therefore they should be the first to feel it. These Japs are paid 25 cents per hr. for single men and 50 cents for married. Our vets working in the same camps draw 40 cents per hr. regardless.

Yours truly

A.B. Closure. (30)

3. *(Following is a letter of the BCSC.)*

June 3rd, 1942.

A. MacNamara, Esq.,
Assoc. Deputy Minister,
Department of Labour,
O T T A W A, ONTARIO.

Dear Mr. MacNamara:

1. Replying to your letter of the 1st instant and the last paragraph of which you make the following observation;

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

"ONE THING WHICH IS GIVING ME SOME CONCERN IS THE QUESTION AS TO WHY THE WORK CAMPS HAVE NOT BEEN FILLED UP. HAVE WE EXHAUSTED THE SUPPLY OF PHYSICALLY FIT MEN?"

2. These work camps have not been filled up for three reasons. The first one being the opposition to the work of the Commission from the "Neisi (sic) Mass Evacuation Group" who prefer internment to being separated from their families by living in work camps. These men consider themselves in the light of martyrs to a cause and as reports have been received from those already interned to the effect that they are having on the whole a "fine time", it is having a tendency to increase the opposition. Our only alternative is arrest and detention. The Immigration Hall at present is full of people of this type awaiting removal east. We have no other place in which we can detain other groups who will be picked up as soon as the present occupants of the Hall are removed.

3. In view of the foregoing, a great majority of the camps are "Camps for Nationals" and as it is against our policy to mix the Canadians with the Nationals, we have asked Mines and Resources to make available a few of these camps for Canadians by transferring the present occupants to National Camps. We have fifty men in Hastings Park ready to proceed to a Camp for Canadians, as soon as one can be made available. These men however, will not go to Schreiber as it is looked upon as a "bad camp", although the reports we have received are to the contrary. The real trouble is its isolation and the fact that many of these Neisis are city bred and have no stomach for farm or road work.

4. The third reason is that the Japanese working in these Road Camps, after their \$20.00 a month is deducted for the support of their families, and after they have paid for clothing, meals, etc. find that their monthly pay cheques only amount to one or two dollars. They realise that in Internment camps they are paid the sum of Twenty Cents per diem and actually find themselves better off at the end of the month in these places.

5. There are minor contributing causes but the three that I have just mentioned are definitely the major ones. We have in

THE EXILES

Vancouver today approximately 500 delinquents who have refused to leave the area, this in addition to the one hundred and sixty odd already detained.

Your very truly,

(sgd.) F.J.Mead, Commissioner,
B. C. Security Commission.

FJM/DR (32)

4. *(Following is a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources.)*

MEMORANDUM

Ottawa August 22, 1942.

Mr. Wardle

For your information the following is the Monthly Personnel Report for July from Mr. Tiller, Resident Engineer of the Revelstoke-Sicamous Project.

(a) Number of new Japanese received on Project during month - 3
Japanese struck off strength during month - 26

12 to Vancouver
10 to Slocan
1 to Kaslo
2 to Hope
1 to Grand Forks
26

(b) General discipline:

The general discipline and attitude toward the work has been satisfactory through the month of July.

In Solsqua, Yard Creek, Griffin Lake, Three Valley and North Fork Camps the attitude toward the work has been very good. In Taft Camp the conduct was good, but a great deal of sitting on the job was manifest. The elder men in general do the greater part of the work. This is typical of all Camps. In a comparison of the amount of actual Japanese labour done, as between Camps, the Taft Camp is definitely at the bottom of the list.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

The dismantling of the North Fork Camp began on July 24th, with all men except a skeleton crew, being moved to Griffin Lake. The small crew remained to pack up and clear the Camp site. The combining of these two Camps caused some disaffection among the younger element, and also some friction between the two groups, when housed together.

One Japanese #xxxxx K.K. refused to move, and requested internment. The Police were summoned, and the man removed to Vancouver. The following is quoted from the Police report, a copy of the telegram sent by the above to one M.B.S., at Griffin Lake: "I just arrived Vancouver Sunday 8.35 A.M. Everything O.K. I will go to Slokan Valley next Monday evening. Will write a letter later." On receipt of this telegram in Camp, four other Japanese refused to go to work, requesting internment. The Police were again called and these removed. It was at this time that the information re receipt of above wire, was obtained, and no doubt it was this wire that decided the men to request internment, as it was a short cut to getting to their families in the interior housing.

Following is a list of the latter removals:

#03549 T, S.
#06629 K, T.J.
#06630 " S.
#06631 " M.

No further disturbances have occurred and the remainder of the personnel at Griffin Lake are working satisfactorily. A copy of the Mounted Police report on these removals, is appended.

Respectfully submitted,

(sgd) T.S.Mills
Chief Engineer.

(Following is a letter of the RCMP)

Vernon, B.C., August 13, 1942

E.P. Tiller, Esq.,
Resident Engineer,
Dep't. Mines & Resources,
REVELSTOKE, B.C.

THE EXILES

Dear Mr. Tiller:

In reply to your letter of yesterday's date with reference to the Japanese from North Fork Camp who were removed for internment.

#00982 K. K., the first man removed, who had been employed at North Fork Camps as a second cook, sent the following telegram to M. B. S. at Griffin Lake camp:

"I just arrived Vancouver Sunday 8.35 A.M. Everything O.K. I will go to Slocan Valley next Monday evening. Will write a letter later."

As a result of this information three brothers K.Y.J., K.S., and K.M.; and T.S., all of whom had relatives in the Slocan Valley asked to be interned.

In reporting this matter to my headquarters, I pointed out that if K.K. was allowed to go to the Slocan Valley instead of being interned, a situation would arise which might get beyond our control. I am given to understand that the decision as to the disposal of K.K. has been revised.

There is at the present time a certain amount of dissatisfaction in your Camps, owing to the fact that after a great deal of trouble in the camps on the C.N.R., the Japanese inmates of these camps were united with their families, and many of them sent to the Slocan Valley; whereas our Japanese, who have behaved themselves very well taking all things into consideration, must remain in their camps and away from their families.

We are now instructed that we must not remove Japanese from camps for internment, without the authority of headquarters.

Yours truly,

(sgd). J.A.J. ILLINGTON - Corpl.
R.C. Mounted Police.
i/c Vernon Detachment.

5. COPY

Copy: Mr. Walker,

Revelstoke, B. C.,

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Banff, Alta.

October 1, 1942.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to yours of September 14th, with enclosure, file U-2700.

The foreman mentioned in the excerpt from H.K.'s letter was Mr. Don Raye. Mr. Raye was discharged for drunkenness on August 4, 1942.

Liquor has been getting into our camps and it is very difficult to uncover the source of supply. Both the Provincial and R.C.M.P. are working on this, but as yet nothing definite has been uncovered.

North Fork Camp was closed and combined with Griffin Lake Camp on August 1st. These camps, as separate units, had been very good with regards to the amount of work accomplished, and the general attitude of the men to their work. On being combined, there was considerable friction between the two groups, with resulting letdown in work. This was most characteristic of the North Fork group. The removal of the married men was followed by a further lessening of the amount of work done as the married men were the steady workers in all camps.

It has been impossible to find subforemen of the proper calibre for this work. In this camp we have had to depend on two Japanese subforemen. This has not been entirely satisfactory and leaves too much to the foremen. If it were possible to obtain good subforemen, so that one could be placed over every twenty-five workmen, the amount of work accomplished in each camp could be increased considerably.

On September 21st, when visiting Griffin Lake Camp, this North Fork group was called aside and told that any further trouble on their part would not be tolerated, and that their names would be turned in for removal from camp. This has had a salutary effect and they have been working satisfactorily.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) E. P. Tiller
Resident Engineer.

THE EXILES

6.

October 28th 1942.

Memorandum:

Mr. Mills

I am forwarding herewith (in duplicate) a copy of a letter dated October 22nd sent to Mr. Tiller, our Engineer in Charge of the Revelstoke-Sicamous project, by Mr. A.H.L. Mellor of the British Columbia Security Commission, Vancouver, B.C., to which is attached a copy of a telegram dated October 15th, received by the Security Commission from Japanese in the highway construction camp at Taft, B.C. This correspondence was sent to me yesterday by Commissioner F.J. Mead. Mr. Mellor was formerly with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and is now Executive Assistant with the Security Commission, handling matters of this kind.

The correspondence is self-explanatory, and I wish you would send a copy on to Mr. Walker for his information and consideration.

I discussed the matter generally with Commissioner Mead over the telephone, and explained to him our viewpoint, namely that if a few Japanese like the ones in question, who are not working properly, were allowed to remain in camp, their attitude would affect other Japanese and sooner or later the tone of the whole camp would greatly deteriorate. Our Engineers consequently thought it better to have the offending Japanese removed from camp if they did not behave satisfactorily after ample warning.

I also told Commissioner Mead that we would not ask for the internment of men who did not work properly or who were trouble makers in camp, but merely that they would be sent somewhere else, and this without too much delay. I suggested that possibly a transfer to a logging camp or sawmill would be a good move in cases like the one in question, but that necessary arrangements would have to be made by the Security Commission.

On our part, I think the Engineer in Charge of any project should check up carefully when unsatisfactory work or behaviour by Japanese is reported to him by the Timekeeper or Foreman. There

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

is no doubt that some of the key men do not like the Japanese, so their judgement in some cases would be prejudiced.

I also think our Engineers could deal to advantage more directly with the Japanese on problems that arise, rather than delegating more or less delicate questions or instructions to their subordinates.

J.M. WARDLE

Director. (32)

* * * *

COPY

Personal

Ottawa, October 28th, 1942.

Dear Commissioner Mead,-

Many thanks for the correspondence and Mr. Mellor's letter dated October 22nd, that you sent me following our telephone discussion the other day. Our concern in cases like the one referred to by Mr. Mellor, is that a small group of Japanese can affect the tone of the whole camp, and if unchecked, greatly reduces its effectiveness.

We have already instructed our engineers not to ask that Japanese be interned who are not behaving properly in camp, but if warnings fail they are merely to ask their removal to some other point. We have not authority under our operating Order in Council to send them out on industrial work such as logging or lumbering, and this has to be done through your Commission. I believe the possibility of a transfer to such work, if impressed on the Japanese, would have a salutary effect in many cases. As you probably know, it broke up the strike a few weeks ago at the camp at Albreda where the Japanese first refused to go to a new camp, but gladly went when found that otherwise they would go to lumber camps in Alberta.

I am also asking our engineers to keep in close personal touch with the Japanese on matters affecting camp behaviour generally, and not to leave such matters too much to their assistants. The Japanese would naturally have more confidence in the Engineer in charge than in the Timekeeper or Foreman.

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Mr. C.M. Walker, our Supervising Engineer at Banff is also being advised along the above lines.

I am returning Mr. Mellor's letter to you.

Yours truly,

J.M. WARDLE

Director. (32)

7.

Banff, Alberta,
November 19th, 1942.

Dear Sirs,-

Attention: Mr. W.A. Eastwood.

I beg to acknowledge yours of the 16th instant and to which was attached a copy of a letter sent you by the Chairman of the Japanese Camp Committee, Yard Creek Camp, dated November 9th.

The request of the Japanese Committee appears, at least on the surface,- to have certain merits, and personally I do not see any legitimate objections thereto. It would appear, however, that this matter would have to be carefully studied in all its phases before a decision could be arrived at, and would also have to be approved or otherwise, by officials at our head office, Ottawa. Provided the leave without pay should be granted to the Japanese at Yard Creek Camp to visit their families for short periods, the same privilege would have to be granted throughout all camps on Japanese projects.

I wrote to you recently re claims by certain Japanese that they were not receiving enough money after assigned pay had been deducted to supply themselves with suitable winter clothing. If leave should be granted for such visits I would take it that the Japanese would pay their own travelling expenses to and from their families and hence if they have not sufficient funds now to provide themselves with winter clothing this condition would be much more aggravated, provided they should spend such limited funds for travelling expenses. Eventually I judge, the Government

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

would be called upon to make the necessary contribution for the purchase of suitable clothing.

A point also arises as to the maintenance, in Ghost Towns, of these Japanese while on leave; who would provide same, the Japanese or the Government? Would Japanese, while so travelling to and from their families, need to be accompanied by an escort, and if so who would bear the expense of same? It occurs to me that if this privilege were agreed to, i.e. the privilege to visit their families, once every six months or thereabouts, a limitation would necessarily have to be placed on the number of Japanese leaving camp at any one time. I would suggest that this number be limited to possibly six or ten for any particular period.

I would suggest that this matter be taken up with the Associate Minister of Labour prior to any definite decision being arrived at.

Faithfully yours,

(SGD) C.M.Walker

Supervising Engineer. (32)

8. *(Following is a letter from Walker to Mills)*

Banff, Alberta.

AIR MAIL

April 22nd, 1943.

Re: Japanese Non-workers,

Your File: U.2700

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 15th instant together with a copy of a letter sent by Mr. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, dated April 10th, to our Director, re purported inspection of Japanese camps on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project by Constable Davidson and Mr. George Collins, Commissioner of Japanese Placement.

Your remarks regarding Mr. Tiller have been noted, and provided the copy of the Police Report as quoted in Mr. MacNamara's letter to our Director was correct, some of your remarks regarding Mr. Tiller's attitude were possibly justified. However, I would point out that since the receipt of the said letter I

THE EXILES

have discussed this matter with Mr. Tiller personally and would submit the following:-

In the first place, Mr. George Collins and Constable Davidson, on the inspection trip referred to in Mr. Macnamara's letter of the 10th instant, did not visit any camps on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. They merely interviewed Mr. Tiller at Revelstoke. As it happens, the highway from Revelstoke to our various camps was blocked with snow at that time, and no effort whatsoever was made to make an inspection of our camps, notwithstanding the fact that a reading of Mr. MacNamara's letter would indicate that all of these camps had been inspected personally by the men referred to above.

For some four months past Mr. Tiller has reported that certain Japanese located in his camps have been deliberately malingering on the work, and in such charges I have backed Mr. Tiller up to the fullest extent. This condition was not imaginary on Mr. Tiller's part, but was an actual statement of fact. Shortly before Mr. Collins and Constable Davidson visited Revelstoke and held discussions with Mr. Tiller, the malingerers seemed to change their attitude and at the particular time that Mr. Collins was in Revelstoke these men were doing fairly good work. This information was conveyed by Mr. Tiller to Mr. Collins and Constable Davidson and in view of the uncertainty on the part of the Security Commission as to what legal action could be taken against the malingerers, it was agreed by Mr. Collins and Mr. Tiller that these men should be allowed to remain in camp so long as they made an honest attempt to carry out instruction as given by the foremen, and were prepared to do a limited amount of work. There seems to be no grounds whatsoever for the statement as quoted in Mr. MacNamara's letter that Mr. Tiller's complaint regarding these men was somewhat exaggerated and that the allegation as made by Mr. Tiller had little foundation in fact. From my own personal observations when inspecting these various camps I entirely agree with Mr. Tiller's complaints that these men, until very recently, made no effort whatsoever to do any work. In fact they were a positive detriment to our camps.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Mr. Tiller certainly did not agree with Mr. Collins or Constable Davidson that his complaints were exaggerated, or were made with little foundation. In fact this particular statement would appear to have originated in Constable Davidson's mind only.

Re the last paragraph as quoted in Mr. MacNamara's letter, I would point out that No. 06966, F. Tatsu, has at no time been domiciled on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. Consequently we are unable to understand Constable Davidson's remarks in this connection. A reading of this particular paragraph, if not understood, would leave the impression that neither Mr. Tiller nor his foremen were at all acquainted with the personnel in the various Japanese camps under Mr. Tiller's jurisdiction. This is an entirely erroneous conclusion to arrive at, since this particular man never has been on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. Consequently Constable Davidson's remarks are completely aside from the point and are very misleading.

It would appear that Constable Davidson was considerably mixed up regarding individual Japanese in various camps. It may be that the Reverend Tatsu, No. 06966, is resident in one of our camps on either the Hope-Princeton or the Yellowhead-Blue River projects, but he certainly is not, and never has been, in camp on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project, although Constable Davidson's report certainly infers that he was contacted on this particular project.

It is now, and always has been, my view that Mr. Tiller was - if anything - too tolerant with misdemeanours or malingering on the part of Japanese resident in his camps, rather than being too strict in this connection.

If reports similar to that of Constable Davidson as per Mr. MacNamara's letter to our Director, or letters drafted along the same lines as yours of the 10th instant, continue to be sent to our Resident Engineers in charge of Japanese projects, I can plainly see that within a very short time we will have no engineers whatsoever available to handle these projects. In fact, Mr. Tiller came to Banff this morning to interview me with the idea of turning in his resignation at once in view of what he, and I, both consider unfair and unwarranted criticism.

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In view of the above it would appear to me that the contents of your letter of the 15th instant, in so far as Mr. Tiller is concerned, are absolutely unfair and are definitely uncalled for. In fact I would suggest that you write Mr. Tiller explaining that such remarks were made under a definite misunderstanding of actual conditions on the job, and in view of very misleading statements as made in Mr. MacNamara's letter to our Director. It appears to me that in fairness to Mr. Tiller this action should be taken immediately.

(SGD) C.M. WALKER

C.M. Walker, Supervising Engineer.

P.S. -- I am forwarding a copy of this, and other pertinent correspondence, to Mr. George Collins of the British Columbia Security Commission and am asking Mr. Collins to advise me if he subscribes to the statements made in Mr. MacNamara's letter of the 10th instant to our Director.

C.M.W. (32)

9. *(Following is a letter from Walker to Mills)*

Banff, Alberta.

AIR MAIL

December 14th, 1943.

Re: Japanese Projects.

On the 30th of November I left Banff by train for Revelstoke. I spent the first and second instants with Resident Engineer Tiller in going over the work which he has undertaken on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project.

Leaving Sicamous on the night of the 2nd instant I arrived in Sicstoke at 1:00 A.M. on the 3rd and as requested by you in your confidential letter as submitted by Mr. J.B. Green, M.P., I interviewed Mr. Green on the afternoon of the 3rd instant and took train the same evening for Vancouver. I have already reported on my interview with Mr. Green.

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

In Vancouver I spent the morning of the 4th and all day of the 6th instants in the offices of the British Columbia Security Commission and the National Selective Service.

In view of numerous letters and instructions received from your office during the last month re proposed transfer of Japanese from our several projects to lumber camps in Northern Ontario, I thought it best that I get in direct contact with the Security Commission and members of the National Selective Service organization at Vancouver, in order to draw up plans as to times and methods of proposed transfers.

Whilst in conference with Mr. Collins, Security Commissioner and Mr. Coles of the National Selective Service, it was impressed upon me that neither of these gentlemen, to date, had any clear conception of just how such transfers were to be handled. The information which I had received from your office prior to undertaking this trip was that single Canadian born Japanese in our camps were to be given the chance of volunteering to go to points in Northern Ontario for lumbering operations, otherwise they would receive directives from the National Selective Service to proceed to certain points in Northern Ontario on stated dates. On arrival in Vancouver I was informed that the same treatment was to be given all Naturalized Canadians also, but Messrs. Collins and Coles informed me that from recent information received from Ottawa all such Japanese were given the privilege of going voluntarily to lumber camps in British Columbia, or in fact to other industrial work in either British Columbia or Ontario.

During our conferences in this matter I was shown a letter received by Mr. Collins from the Labour Department at Ottawa, and in which it was very strongly suggested that no force was to be used by the Commission or the Selective Service, in order to compel Japanese to leave our camps to go to either Ontario or British Columbia, and in view of these circumstances neither Messrs. Collins or Coles could give me any definite idea as to how many Japanese would likely be transferred, nor when any Japanese would be transferred from our camps to either points in British Columbia or Ontario. In fact, these gentlemen intimated strongly

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that until more definite instructions had been received from their Ottawa offices they could really take no action whatsoever.

While I was in Mr. Cole's office he informed that a deputation of lumbermen from British Columbia, accompanied by a National Selective Service official from Vancouver planned to go through our Revelstoke-Sicamous Japanese camps on the 6th and 7th instants in an endeavour to obtain extra help for sawmill or lumbering operations.

Being unable to obtain any definite information from the Selective Service or the British Columbia Security Commission re evacuation of Japanese, I proceeded to Hope on the evening of the 6th instant, and spent a day and a half with Mr. Gwyer at that point. During this inspection visit I called in on the Supervisor of Japanese at Tashme, and was informed that there were still a considerable number of Canadian born Japanese in the Tashme camp and whom to date the Commission had not been able to move out to other projects, notwithstanding the threat or bluff of the National Selective Service that unless these men voluntarily went to lumber or sawmill operating camps in either British Columbia or Ontario they would be sent to Northern Ontario lumber camps whether they liked it or not.

Wishing to ascertain what success the lumber operatives had had in recruiting men on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project, I returned to Sicamous on the evening of the 8th instant and spent the 9th instant in company with Mr. Tiller, once more going over the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. Mr. Tiller informed me that in company with some four lumber operatives and a representative of the National Selective Service from Vernon, he had gone through all his camps on the 6th and 7th instants. The N.S.S. official had addressed the Japanese in a body in each camp, and had informed them that unless they volunteered to accept work in lumber camps in British Columbia they would be taken out of our camps and sent to Northern Ontario. Notwithstanding this threat, nine in all, volunteered from our camps to accept work with lumber camps; this out of a total of 117.

The nine volunteering as per the above paragraph, were - without doubt - the nine best Japanese in our camps; that is they

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

were, in a sense, key men, in so far as our operations are concerned. With these nine men leaving we still have 108 Japanese who have flatly refused to either accept work in saw mills or private lumbering camps in British Columbia, or to go to Northern Ontario under any circumstances. Thus in order that the lumber companies of British Columbia may obtain nine men, our entire camps have been disorganized and we are left with 108 Japanese, many of whom cannot be classed as construction workers. One Japanese in particular whom we have lost, was our drill sharpener. This was a particularly good man and we are now left without any drill sharpener, since to date we have been unable to obtain a white replacement.

It would seem that we still have to look after some 108 Japanese who will not now give nearly as efficient work as they did previously when working with and under the direction of good and willing Japanese workers, and as a consequence our construction work will suffer to a very considerable extent. Neither the Security Commission nor the National Selective Service officials could inform me as to what is to happen to the 108 Japanese who are on our hands on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project, and as a consequence thereof, I instructed Mr. Tiller to continue his construction work until otherwise advised, although in the meantime I instructed him to reduce the number of his camps by one; the camp which is being closed out is the Solsqua Camp.

With authority having been given for lumber operators to go through our National Camps as well, (see your wire to W.S. Ramsay of recent date) it is most likely that a very small number of Japanese will volunteer for private enterprises, although the ones who do volunteer will, without question, be those Japanese who are most useful to us in not only the work they actually do themselves, but also in the handling of the remaining Japanese.

It would seem to me more to the point if the Japanese which we presently have in our camps are allowed to stay there, where they at least are accomplishing some work, whereas single Canadian born or Naturalized Japanese, also Nationalists who are in interior housing schemes, are doing very little, if any, useful

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work, but they apparently are to be allowed to remain in such housing schemes.

The various schemes for transfer which have been placed before the Japanese recently by the Commission, the National Selective Service, or by lumber operatives, has entirely unsettled all the Japanese in our camps, and as a result our camps have lost practically two weeks work, and until the problems of transfer or otherwise, is finally settled one way or the other, we cannot hope to obtain anything approaching efficient work from the Japanese still remaining in these camps.

C.M. Walker,
Supervising Engineer.

10. *(Following is the first letter from Walker to Mills.)*

Banff, Alberta.

Private and Confidential

December 11th, 1943.

As requested in your private and confidential air mail letter of November 23rd, I have recently made an investigation of the various claims as set forth in the copy of a letter submitted to our Department from Mr. J.B. Green, M.P. of Sicstoke, such claims referring to conditions as at present existing on the Revelstoke-Sicamous Japanese work project.

I spent the first and second instants in Revelstoke investigating the various points as referred to in the letter submitted to you by Mr. Green. During this investigation I questioned Mr. E.P. Tiller very minutely regarding the activities and actions of all key men on this project. I also interviewed several - what I considered to be representative citizens of the city of Revelstoke, and on the 9th instant I interviewed several citizens in the vicinity of Sicamous re the same matters. I might state forthwith, that I have no knowledge whatsoever of the political leanings of the persons whom I saw and interviewed, either at Revelstoke or Sicamous, nor am I interested in the slightest in such leanings. The persons so interviewed stated that in general they were very well pleased indeed with the progress made on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

under Mr. Tiller's direction, realizing that with Japanese labour and inefficient and obsolete equipment we naturally could not accomplish nearly as much work as could be expected in normal times with white labour and good equipment.

I particularly enquired re opinions regarding Bill Ramsay, foreman of Yard Creek Camp and Bob Blair. I was informed that insofar as they knew or were aware of, both of these men had good moral characters, and did not, according to their knowledge, take any active part in existing political parties in that vicinity.

I interviewed Mr. J.B. Green, M.P. at Sicstoke on the 3rd instant and went over, paragraph by paragraph, the letter - a copy of which was forwarded to me in yours of the 23rd ultimo. I submit herewith a resume of my conversations with Mr. Green and with reference to the letter under discussion:

Paragraph 1.

No particular comments were made, except that this camp was being closed down to cut down operating costs, and in view of the fact that, with the diminishing number of Japanese to handle, I considered better and more useful work could be done during the winter months from camps located at Yard Creek, Taft or Griffin Lake. I pointed out to Mr. Green that the instructions for the closing of the Solsqua camp had been issued by the undersigned without reference in any shape or form to Bill Ramsay, Bob Blair, or Arnie Aspen. Much of the remaining work to be done from the Solsqua camp consists of shovel or dragline operation, and building up subgrade over the Provincial location in wet areas west of the Solsqua camp. We have not, and cannot obtain, a dragline, and in any case, such dragline work in wet country cannot be handled efficiently during the winter months.

Paragraph 2.

On instructions from this office at and after consultation with our Director when he was last in Banff, I instructed Mr. Tiller to purchase, in so far as possible, necessary winter vegetables and store same in his root houses at the various camps. Consequently we will be buying very few winter vegetables during the winter months from the Solsqua vicinity or elsewhere. Neither Mr. Tiller nor the undersigned have any idea regarding the political

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affiliations of the key white men or the workers in the Solsqua camp. When Mr. Tiller was first sent out to Revelstoke he was instructed that the existing Government had "publicly declared that politics and patronage were out for the duration". He was further instructed to take no cognizance of political parties on this project, but to handle it to the best of his ability in the most efficient manner.

I informed Mr. Green that Arnie Aspen, who is timekeeper at Solsqua Camp, has at no time had anything whatsoever to do with the purchase of supplies in the Solsqua or any other district. I further informed him that I considered, from my previous knowledge of Arnie Aspen that he was, without doubt, the poorest and most unsatisfactory timekeeper presently on our payroll on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. This opinion is backed up by my previous knowledge of Arnie Aspen's operations, when with us on the West Leg of the Big Bend Highway.

Paragraph 3.

I flatly contradict statements made in this paragraph, and after all I think the Engineer in Charge and the Supervising Engineer on any project are in a better position to decide on work problems than are persons who are in no wise acquainted with the particular projects.

Paragraph 4.

More and better work has been done from the Yard Creek Camp than from any other camp on this project, although I freely admit that the going, at least at times, was easier than at other camps, and Bill Ramsay possibly had more equipment. However, I informed Mr. Green that in my opinion Bill Ramsay was the only really competent foreman who is at present on this project. I stated that Bill Ramsay was the only foreman who had any organizing ability whatsoever and who used any glimmerings of initiative. The statements made re Ramsay and Blair making Tiller think they are carrying out his orders when they are doing just the opposite, are nothing but flat falsehoods.

Paragraph 5.

The first sentence in this paragraph is a deliberate lie. Mr. Bruhn had nothing whatsoever to do with the engagement of Bill

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

Ramsay or Blair. When Mr. Tiller was in need of a foreman for the Yard Creek Camp he made enquiry as he deemed fit and with no knowledge whatsoever that Mr. Bruhn might like Ramsay to have a job, but drove to Ramsay's house after having interviewed him regarding his previous experience on construction work, he engaged him on the spot. Mr. Bruhn at no time suggested in any way that either Ramsay or Blair should be given positions with our Service. The statement that Ramsay has been supplying Tiller, or the undersigned, or any of our camps with fish is a downright falsehood. Ramsay has, at no time, supplied any of the above mentioned persons or camps with any kind of fish whatsoever. I mentioned to Mr. Green that possibly his informant had possibly got the name of Ramsay mixed up, since Mr. Tiller has at times purchased Fish from a dealer at Vernon by the name of Ramsay, but he was no relation whatsoever to Bill Ramsay. Ramsay did, during the last year and a half, take Mr. Tiller and his family out twice on short rides. He has given no other free boat rides. A year ago this fall Blair presented Mr. Tiller with one Pheasant. Mr. Tiller had never tasted Pheasant before, and neither he nor his family liked it. He told Blair this, and stated that he certainly did not want any more Pheasants.

Bill Ramsay did not have a 4-yd. Government truck haul gravel from Yard Creek to his place and gravelled his road for 300 yards. In connection with this statement I would advise that all trucks operating from the Yard Creek Camp are hired trucks which are engaged by the hour supplying their own gas. Ramsay, after hours did hire one of these trucks to haul a number of loads of gravel on to his road. Such loads were hand loaded by Ramsay and the driver of the truck, Ramsay paying \$1.00 per load for such gravel. Not one pound of gravel was hauled by a Government truck to Ramsay's road at Government expense or on Government time. If Ramsay had - "the bulldozer when it was ploughing here last winter plough his road every time it was down here" - the Department of Mines and Resources did not pay one cent for such work. Our snow ploughing ran from Three Valley to Solsqua Camp. Any snow-ploughing which was done beyond the Solsqua

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Camp was done on the instruction, and at the cost of the Public Works Department of British Columbia.

Paragraph 6.

I do not believe for one moment that Ramsay ever took a drop of Government gas to run his boat. If, as the writer states, he used his boat every Sunday since last April, and he was allowed only six gallons of gas, this - I think - would be a matter for the Oil Controller rather than for us to look into.

Paragraph 7.

Blair has the use of a Departmental Mines and Resources truck or car. He is required to make one and some times two trips per week from Revelstoke to all camps, with supplies, and to check up on such camps. His home is in Sicamous, which is some two and a half (2 1/2) miles west of our Solsqua Camp, and it is on authority from me that he is permitted to drive this extra two and a half miles once per week so that he might be at home for Sunday. At times Blair is compelled to leave Revelstoke late in the evening and has not time to make his usual check up at the camps. In these cases he drives through to Sicamous, and when returning to Revelstoke on Sunday afternoon he delivers supplies and checks up at the camps. It is easily understandable that Blair and Bill Ramsay are living higher than they used to, since I believe they used to make their living catching fish in Shuswap Lake, and doing other odd jobs, whereas at present they are receiving a regular monthly cheque. The coffee and sugar rations are quite sufficient to supply any two or three people with plenty of tea, sugar and coffee without obtaining any from outside sources, at least so I find it in my own home.

As to the amount of liquor Blair consumes off Government time, is none of my business or anyone else's, provided he carries out his work efficiently. There are a number of possible explanations as to how Blair could have obtained the amount of liquor referred to in the informant's letter. I am convinced that Blair at no time has appeared for work under even the faintest influence of alcoholic liquor, and he is a most efficient storekeeper and purchasing agent. I wish we had more like him on our other projects.

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"This man got his job through Bruhn". This is a deliberate lie. As a matter of fact, when Mr. Tiller needed a man to carry out the work which Mr. Blair is doing for us, he went to Mr. Joe Joseph, at that time General Foreman for the Public Works Department of British Columbia in Revelstoke. (Mr. Joseph was formerly Chairman of the Liberal Association in the Revelstoke District) Blair had written to Mr. Tiller applying for a position, and on Mr. Joseph's recommendation that he considered Blair quite capable and trustworthy to carry on this work, Messrs. Joseph and Tiller drove to Blair's house and arranged for Blair to take over the work. Further statements under this paragraph are of too piffling a nature to require a reply. Personally I consider Blair trustworthy and efficient, and he is - so far as we are concerned, the right man in the right place.

Paragraph 8.

The statement re Mr. Tiller purchasing a gravel pit from H. Steps of Sicamous for the sum of \$500.00 is absolute nonsense. Mr. Tiller had neither the authority nor the cash to buy a gravel pit for even \$5.00. Further the Department of Mines and Resources has, at no time, sanctioned the purchase of gravel pits for material for the Revelstoke-Sicamous project.

Prior to my conversations with Mr. Green in Sicstoke, I went to the Public Works Department offices of the District Engineer in Sicstoke and after having looked through a number of files I ascertained that the said Department had purchased a two acre plot from H. Steps at a price of \$50.00 per acre. This area had been inspected and jointly approved as the gravel pit for purchase by Mr. W. Ramsay, District Engineer, P.W.D., Mr. Duckett, Assistant Engineer, Revelstoke District, and this approval had been concurred in by Mr. Tiller. The Province purchased the pit and Mr. Tiller had the Provincial "60" Tractor build a road into the pit. This tractor was on the building of this particular road for approximately five days, for two days of which, however, it was broken down.

Our Department paid no rent whatsoever for the use of this tractor, but do attempt to keep it in running condition. The cost to

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our Department for the use of this piece of equipment approximates \$15.00 per day.

I agree with the writer of the anonymous letter that test pits should have been run down to a much greater depth before the purchase of this pit was recommended. However, that was really up to the Public Works Department of British Columbia, and is no responsibility of ours. I examined the pit referred to in the latter part of Paragraph 8. In fact Mr. Tiller had a shovel and seven trucks operating from this pit as referred to during the time of my inspection. After inspecting this pit I instructed Mr. Tiller to remove the shovel therefrom and haul gravel in from East of Cambie to the Solsqua flat. The gravel in the pit as referred to in the informant's letter paragraph 8 is much too sandy and light to be of any use whatsoever for the subgrade on this particular section of highway.

Paragraph 9.

I informed Mr. Green that unless local residents in the Solsqua vicinity had attempted to stir up the Japanese, I did not think the Japanese would object in the slightest to working under Bill Ramsay. Possibly some of the white workers might object, since Mr. Ramsay is a man who insists on getting a fair day's work out of both white men and Japanese who are under his control. In view of the small number of Japanese which we now have on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project, we are not warranted in attempting to operate four camps, and I am prepared to take full responsibility for issuing instructions to this effect. I informed Mr. Green that as matters stood on the 3rd instant, it seemed quite likely that we would be closing up all camps on the Revelstoke -Sicamous project, but that in any case we certainly proposed to close up some of these camps with Solsqua the first on the list.

On the basis of the charges made in the letter as submitted to you by Mr. Green and in view of the many false statements contained therein, I am extremely reluctant to place any faith in any part of such letter.

Also, in view of my personal knowledge of the capabilities of Messrs. Ramsay and Blair I propose to continue them in our

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employ until such time as we have been able to obtain definite proof of their inefficiency and unfitness for such work.

C. M. Walker,
Supervising Engineer. (6)

* * * *

(Following is the second letter from Walker to Mills)

Banff, Alberta.

ESPECIALLY CONFIDENTIAL December 11th, 1943.

During my interview with Mr. Green, M.P. at Sicstoke on the 3rd instant, it appeared plain to me that Mr. Green was greatly worried about his political chances at the next general election. Among other things, Mr. Green stated that he feared the C.C.F. party might give him a very close run and it was plain from his conversation that he wished our Department "to pull some of his chestnuts out of the fire".

After having discussed the contents of the confidential letter which he had submitted, and after I had given him my views regarding the many false statements made therein, he then swung around and made Mr. Tiller the main object of his complaint. Mr. Green stated that Tiller did not, and would not, co-operate with the Liberal Committee in Revelstoke. I asked Mr. Green to inform me if and when the Committee had consulted with Mr. Tiller. He could not give me anything definite regarding this, but stated generally that Mr. Tiller's attitude was that he did not need to take orders from any political committee. I immediately called to Mr. Green's attention the fact that the present Government, at the beginning of the war, had publicly stated that political activities and political patronage were definitely out for the duration, and on the strength of this I had instructed Mr. Tiller, when sending him to Revelstoke, to carry out the Revelstoke-Sicamous project in as efficient a manner as possible, and to the best of his judgment, paying no attention whatsoever to political matters.

Latterly I enquired from Mr. Green as to when the Liberal Committee in Revelstoke had interviewed him. Mr. Green stated that such Committee had at no time made any effort whatsoever to interview him, and further stated that he had no idea as to the

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names of the various members of this Committee. He stated that several times one particular man, by name of Hodd, had come to his office and had attempted to instruct him as to the method in which he should carry on the work of this project. Hodd did not in any way identify himself as a member of any Committee, but at one particular instance informed Mr. Tiller that if he did not carry out certain requests of Mr. Hodd's there would be serious repercussions. In reply to this implied threat Mr. Tiller, quite naturally and normally, invited Mr. Hodd to get out of the office and stay out. I heartily backed up Mr. Tiller's actions in this regard.

With reference to Mr. Green's statement to me that from now on politics and patronage were again to enter the field on our projects I expressed some doubt as to the authenticity of this policy, since my office had received no information to this effect, and I stated to Mr. Green that until I had received definite instructions from Ottawa regarding this change of policy I proposed to carry on according to the declared policy of the Government at the beginning of the war, namely that politics and patronage were out for the duration.

Mr. Green expressed dissatisfaction with Mr. Tiller because at the present time Mr. Tiller had arranged to do practically all his own freighting of supplies to his camps. Mr. Green stated that last winter Mr. Tiller used the services of Hodd and another garage owner in Revelstoke for freighting purposes, whereas at the present time, by the use of a Provincial truck which is loaned to us by the Province, he is doing most of his own freighting, and consequently the former garage owner freighters are not now receiving a monthly cheque from the Department. In this regard, Mr. Tiller is using very good sense and thereby is saving our Department fairly large sums of money each month.

As far as I can see, Mr. Tiller is running this project without any regard to political matters, and although he has - in my opinion - used poor judgement in several cases, he has carried on his project very satisfactorily considering the handicaps under which he has been compelled to work; that is inefficient labour, poor equipment and recalcitrant (sic) Japanese to handle. He also has

THE REVELSTOKE-SICAMOUS HIGHWAY PROJECT

had to carry out this project in probably one of the most rabid fault-finding districts, politically, of which I have any knowledge.

Mr. Green requested that I forward him a copy of my confidential reply to the letter which he forwarded to you. At the time of his request I thought that there would be no objection to supplying him with a copy, but since that time I have decided to send my reply direct to you without sending a copy to Mr. Green. In so far as I am concerned, however, I have no objection to your sending him a copy of such reply verbatim, and I would suggest that if you see fit you should do so, at the earliest possible date. Naturally you **will not** be sending him a copy of this **specially confidential** enclosure.

C.M. Walker,
Supervising Engineer. (6)

11. (COPY)

Dear Joe:

As I am laid off from the West Road (Solsqua Camp closed) I thought I would drop you a line and let you know a few facts.

I was to have had the First Aid and Timekeepers job at Yard Creek Camp, but the foreman (who is the C.C.F. main guy from Sicamous) made it pretty hot for me, and evidently told the engineer in charge that I was not wanted or to get me out, so the engineer laid me off after near 2 years A.1 service. I may say when I first took this job Mr. Walker of Banff told me I could not hold down this job unless I held a First Aid certificate. I at once showed him my certificate which he looked at and said very nice. I often wondered why he said that, as all along there was only about two Timekeepers with First Aid certificates. Now there is not one with a First Aid certificate as Timekeeper, and as you know all camps have to have men with a certificate.

I think I got a dirty deal. And I am the last of the Liberals on the job, and I am also an ex-service man. I took this up with Joe McKinnon and told him I was writing you, and he said I should.

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I have done my work good and looked after my job, and I don't think this is coming to me.

I don't want to bother you by writing letters, but you know I have always done the right thing with the Party and especially with you.

It looks like the Engineer made up his mind to get rid of all the boys that were placed in these jobs when the camps opened up, and he has made a good job of it. Dan Legrew, a real good Foreman, was the first, and all along the line until it came to me. He has let out ex-service men, and I can supply you with names. There is not one ex-service man on the job now.

I wish you would drop me a line some time.

Things are very quiet here, and the Association is having odd meetings.

Yours sincerely.

P.S. On looking over my letter, I may say there is not a man working on Project with First Aid certificate. (6)

12. *(Following is a letter from Walker to Mills)*

Mr. Wardle:

For your information in replying to your 'Private and Confidential' memorandum dated February 1st.

7/2/44 T.S. Mills.

Banff, Alberta.

Private and Confidential

February 3rd, 1944.

AIR MAIL

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your private and confidential air mail letter of the 1st instant, together with a copy of Mr. Tiller's letter to our Director dated January 31st, with a copy of an unidentified and undated letter sent to Mr. Green, from some unknown who was previously in our employ, all dealing with the Revelstoke-Sicamous Japanese project. In reply I would suggest that it would be quite in order to call Mr. Green's attention to his statement as made in the first paragraph of his letter to our Director dated January 31st, and which I quote:

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"My only remark in that connection is that according to our laws the prisoner is not allowed to choose his jury".

In making any such statement Mr. Green apparently overlooked the fact that so far as I know there is no prisoner. Secondly I would remark that if we for the moment accept Mr. Green's term of "prisoner", the prisoners were absolutely condemned, hanged, drawn and quartered without trial of any kind, and without any substantiation whatsoever of the charges made against them. This procedure does not follow Canadian law procedure as I understand it, nor does Canadian law provide for the sacrificing of any individual by political parties without a full dress investigation, in which the so called prisoner (Mr. Green's nomenclature) is given a chance to prove or disprove charges made by anonymous personages.

Mr. Green's letter to our Director, and particularly the letter addressed to "Dear Joe" would indicate what is behind all the fuss on the Revelstoke-Sicamous project. There is no doubt whatever in my mind but that it is a straight political racket.

From statements made in the letter addressed to "Dear Joe" it is plain to me that the writer of this letter is one Arnie Aspen who, on the closing down of the Solsqua Camp, was naturally let out.

Aspen states that he was to have had the First Aid and timekeeper's job at Yard Creek, but that the foreman apparently persuaded Mr. Tiller otherwise. This is in no wise the truth. -Aspen's services were dispensed with on my instructions, and for the reasons as given verbally by me to Mr. Green in Sicstoke on the 3rd of December. These reasons are set forth in paragraph 2, page 2 of my Private and Confidential report to you dated December 11th.

Dan Legrew, was never a good construction foreman. In fact every time I visited the Revelstoke-Sicamous Project while Legrew was foreman I wondered why Mr. Tiller kept him on. Legrew, on the other hand is a fair pullgrader man, and was engaged on this work as long as he wished to remain in this position. He quit voluntarily from the position as a graderman,

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even when we needed him particularly to complete a certain piece of work.

In so far as Arnie Aspen is concerned I have always known that he was more or less a "political healer" even when he worked for our Department under Mr. Wilkens on the West Leg of the Big Bend. He is the man , I fully believe, who was responsible for several of the Japanese strikes in our Solsqua Camp shortly after this camp was established. He can best be described as a bag of wind which becomes unduly inflated for little reason. He may be a useful politician, but otherwise he is a detriment to any construction work.

I fail to see on what grounds Aspen claims he got a dirty deal. As for his statement that he is the last Liberal on the job, I have no knowledge of this whatsoever, since I have no knowledge of any kind as to the political leanings of the men on our work, nor am I in the slightest interested, in view of the ruling made at the start of the war that "Politics were out for the duration".

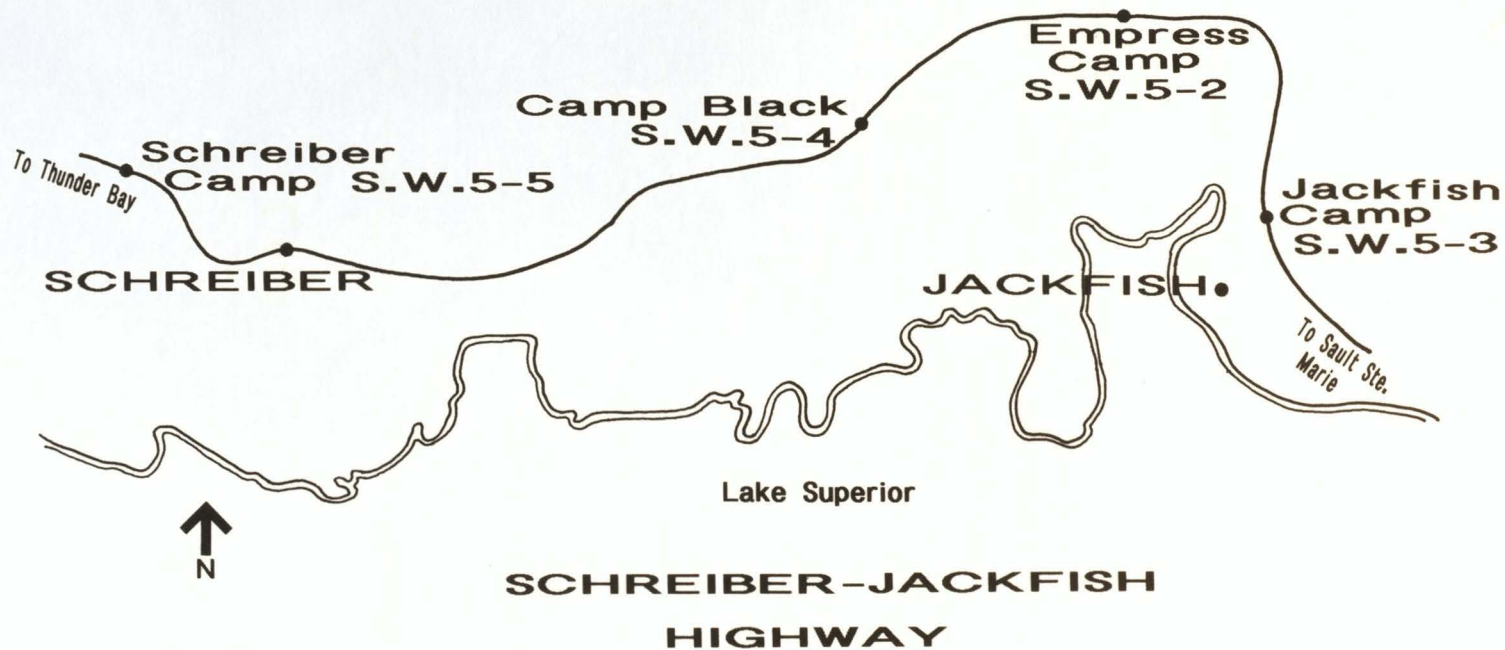
Re placing of original key men on this project, I might state that the services of such key men were secured by the - then - foreman of the Public Works Department, Revelstoke who - years ago - was a Liberal. When these camps were being started up I suppose Mr. Joe Joseph did pick out Liberals for key positions, but if this was the basis Mr. Joseph was working on he certainly used very poor judgement in some of the subjects picked.

In conclusion I might state that I do not think for one moment Mr. Tiller pays the slightest attention to the political leanings of any man on the project, and in this he is carrying out Departmental instructions.

C. M. Walker
Supervising Engineer. (6)

CHAPTER 6

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT



(P.A.C.)

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

The Schreiber-Jackfish Highway Project was one of the first projects which came to Wardle's mind when the subject of putting the Japanese to work on road building was discussed in the office of Humphrey Mitchell, the Minister of Labour on January 14th. The meeting was mentioned in Chapter 1, Prologue. The attractiveness of this project was the existence of buildings which could very quickly be occupied. A major drawback from the Japanese point of view was its location so far from the West Coast and their families. However, the Government was determined to disperse the Japanese population, and Schreiber was looked on as a "Manning Pool" for this policy and an ideal place to exile the Nisei, whom they wanted to keep separate from the Nationals. The Nisei had a reasonable to excellent command of English which the Government believed would make placement in industrial work easier to accomplish. There was accommodation for 300 men at Schreiber.

The negotiations to have Ontario accept the Japanese-Canadians was not readily accomplished, because of Eastern fear and prejudice of this ethnic group which most Ontarians had never met. The reader may recall that in "The N.C." story of February 2nd, the Ontario Minister of Agriculture, Dewan, was interested in the possibility of Japanese working on farms. However, McQuesten, Minister of Highways of Ontario, wrote to Crerar, on the 3rd, to express his opposition to the policy.

After considerable negotiation, Taylor, Chairman of the BCSC, wired Labour Minister Mitchell, on March 18th: *"Have received the following 'Council in session today approved full co-operation based on assurances contained in your telegram. M.E. Heenan suggests that at least one hundred Japanese with knowledge of carpentry be sent in advance in order to renovate living quarters. First camp will be on the Trans-Canada Highway immediately east of Schreiber. Signed M.F. Hepburn'"* (53) (Author's note: Hepburn was the Premier of Ontario.)

The next day, the 19th, Wardle confirmed the decision in a letter to Smith, the Deputy Minister of Highways, and told him that 100 Japanese would be sent as soon as possible and that the camp

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would be expected to hold 250 men. Wardle also wired MacNamara at the UIC office in Vancouver that the camp was prepared to take 100 men in three days provided that cooking, dining utensils and bunks were available; an additional 150 men could leave Vancouver in five days. (43)

MacNamara met with the full Commission in the office of the Chairman on the 19th of March, where they discussed the Ontario project. It was agreed that only British subjects would be sent to Ontario and that the British Columbia rate of pay and conditions with respect to support of wives and children would apply. Specialists would be paid a little higher rate of 30 - 35¢ per hour. The men would have to supply their own blankets and clothes. Men without blankets would have to buy them at the Camp. (Author's note: I know that I did not have a blanket when I went, but can't remember that I had to pay for one. I did not have the carrying capacity for a blanket to any of my destinations in Ontario.) The cookhouse at Hastings Park would supply enough sandwiches for the men and coffee could be made en route. (Author's note: We may have had sandwiches for a day, but I remember buying them on the train and whenever the train stopped at a station and we wanted a bite to eat. There was coffee all the time as I remember.)

The suggestion was made that an Order-in-Council be drafted prohibiting any person of Japanese race from fishing lakes and rivers. *"The Chairman considered this was very necessary in the interest and protection of fish in this Province"*. (15)

On the same day, the 19th, Chairman Taylor wired Commissioner Wood, of the RCMP, that the Province of Ontario would take certain numbers of Japanese for Trans-Canada Highway and other projects. The first camp would be east of Schreiber, and the RCMP would be required to provide the necessary police protection with at least one policeman stationed at each camp. (5)

"The N.C." March 20th, *"Forest War Work for 3000 Evacuees in Ont."*

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

Arrangements to place some 3000 male evacuees on road work and in the pulp and paper industry in Ontario have been practically completed, and are expected to go into operation soon. Work for at least an estimated 2,500 Canadian-born and naturalized Japanese in industry of value to the war effort is thus being provided.

Ontario's offer has reversed the previous situation, indicating now that more jobs are available than men to fill them. With over 1000 nationals already placed on B.C. roads, the possible reserve of able-bodied nationals is probably less than 1000.

...

The entire cost of transportation from B.C. to Ontario by train will be borne by the Dominion government, Premier Mitchell Hepburn of Ontario said Thursday.

War Industry

'These men will be brought to a distribution centre and placed where they are needed', he said. 'We will place a large number of them in forestry work amongst wood operators in our northern forests. They will be placed in gainful occupations in war industries.

The cordite factories and the mills making wrapping paper for shells need men very seriously. At the present time they are putting out 60 percent of the required amount for war purposes'.

A number might be placed on the completion of a section of the Trans-Canada Highway near Schreiber skirting the north shore of Lake Superior.

Representations have been placed before the Premier, who expressed his willingness to co-operate saying:

'With British Columbia facing a possible invasion they find many among them who might do damage or be fifth columnists. There are a large number of Canadian-born among them, who I am satisfied, may be loyal British subjects.'

It is understood that evacuees so placed would be paid prevailing wages".

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Commissioner Wood, RCMP, wrote to Commissioner W.H.Stringer of the Ontario Provincial Police on March the 20th, advising him of the occupation of the Ontario government camps by Japanese male evacuees. He wrote *"This Force will undertake the responsibility of providing reasonable Police protection, and I would appreciate having your views on the nature of the protection required, together with all the details as to the location of these camps and the number of Japanese to be placed therein"*. (5)

Commissioner Stringer replied to Wood on the 23rd. He had very detailed knowledge of what would be happening with the men en route to Schreiber. When they arrived in Winnipeg, the coaches containing the Japanese would be transferred to another train, and then at Schreiber a yard engine would be hooked up to the coaches to take them about three miles east of Schreiber to the camp which was very close to the main line of the CPR. He commented: *"I am of the opinion that as the district in which the Japanese will be placed is very sparsely settled, most of it still in its natural and primitive state, no difficulty should be experienced from the people living therein who might be considered hostile to their presence. ... As you are aware, there are two Internment camps for Prisoners of War, ideally situated for that purpose, in the district, one at Neys and the other at Angler, both on the Canadian Pacific Railway, ... I have given careful consideration to the question of adequate police protection and I am of the opinion that at least nine Royal Canadian Mounted Police Special Constables, working on the basis of three men to an eight hour shift, should be detailed to supervise the first company of Japanese arrivals at Schreiber. This opinion is based on the close proximity of the vital main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the local Internment camps in which are confined sympathetic German Prisoners of War, and huge and essential Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission plants situated on the Nipigon River, about sixty-five miles west of Schreiber.*

The uncertainty of the conduct of the Japanese while in this area would make it imperative that every precaution be taken by strong and effective guarding arrangements which will ensure that no outbreak or breach of the peace will occur". (22)

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Wood replied to Stringer's letter on the 31st, indicating that nine special constables would be hired to act as guards, their main duties would include guarding the Rail Road right of way from sabotage, and control of the Japanese generally. A member of the Force would visit the camp at irregular intervals to receive any complaints from the Japanese or the guards. (5)

March 21st, Wardle wired McVety, at UIC in Vancouver, asking for confirmation that 100 men would be leaving for Schreiber on the 23rd, also advised that 150 men could be sent on Thursday. He also complained that men were arriving at the Y-BR Project physically unfit and requiring medical attention. (43)

McVety replied immediately that his instructions from MacNamara were to ship only Canadian-born Japanese to Schreiber. As for the complaint about physically unfit men, "*All men examined by Physicians of Pensions and National Health ... Our instructions are that primary purpose movement Japanese is to clear vulnerable points coast area rather than secure first class labour for road work*". (43) (Author's note: emphasis mine.)

Commissioner Wood wrote to the OC, RCMP, Winnipeg, to inform him that there would be a group of 100 Japanese men on their way to a camp at Schreiber: "*... for the purpose of building the Trans-Canada Highway. This is the forerunner of further contingents of Japs, and the location of several more camps. These arrangements have been completed with the Provincial Government of Ontario, and on the condition that we afford adequate protection. This is rather ambiguous; for one thing, so far as I know, these Japanese are British subjects - either by birth or naturalization - and the only reason for protection measures in the way of guards is to appease public alarm*".

Wood asked the OC to have an NCO accompany the men to the camp and make arrangements to hire Special Constables for guard duty and provide arms for them. The duty of the guards was to prevent sabotage along the right of way.

The Japanese were to be advised not to visit the nearest town for the time being. If they had to visit: "*they should be in the company*

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of a white person, to avoid incidents". Wood suggested that the Press be used to inform the populace that the Japanese were not internees as was the common perception.

Wood added a P.S. " *The Honourable Peter Heenan has authorized C. Shields of the Toronto Telegram to write a story and take photographs. This does not permit this individual to enter the camps. Please advise your guards accordingly*". (22) On the 25th, the same privilege was extended to Toronto Star reporters Taylor and Powley. (5)

T.V.Sandys-Wunsch, A/Commissioner, Commanding R.C.M.P. in Winnipeg, wrote to the Commissioner R.C.M.P., on the 23rd, that Japanese "*would be leaving Vancouver on train No. 4 on the 24th instant so that they will reach Winnipeg at 5:45 PM on the 26th inst.and will probably leave Winnipeg either on #4 or #8 on the same evening for Schreiber. Canadian Pacific Railway officials also advise that there is another large party of Japanese leaving Vancouver on the p.m. of the 26th instant their destination being Schreiber*". (5)

Wardle wrote on the 24th to Smith, the Deputy Minister at Toronto, that the Department of Labour wanted to have the camp at Jackfish opened up and that he understood that 150 men could be accommodated there. (43)

On the 25th, the movement of men was cancelled temporarily because of the NMEG resistance in Vancouver. Sandys-Wunsch notified Wood of this by telegram and Wood replied on the same day that he had not received information about the departure either. (5)

On the 27th, Chief Engineer Mills, in Ottawa, wired A.M. Mills, the Ontario Government Project Engineer, that the expected departure of men from Vancouver had been postponed from Monday, March the 23rd to Wednesday the 25th and that the departure time was unknown. (43)

On the 30th, Wardle advised Mills by memo that MacNamara had just advised him by telephone that 132 Canadians of Japanese

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origin had left Vancouver the previous night, Sunday, for Schreiber.

At 8:40 pm on April 1st, Mills in Schreiber, advised Mills in Ottawa, that 134 men were now in the camp.

"The N.C." March 28th,

"Nisei Head Movement of Citizens to Ontario Receive Assurance of Family Care

Van. - Evacuation of Canadian-born citizens of Japanese origin out of the protected area got under way Sunday night when 133 men left for Schreiber Ontario from the Canadian Pacific station.

They will be employed in the building of a clearing station under government supervision, and from this station, they and later arrivals will be sent to jobs in lumber camps, pulp mills and war industry at prevailing rates of wages. Those unable to fill such jobs will be employed in the building of an uncompleted section of the Trans-Canada highway near Schreiber.

Evacuation of able-bodied male citizens will gain speed following registration of all Lower Mainland Nisei at the R.C.M.P. barracks, Tuesday. It is expected that upon registration each Nisei will be given a date upon which he must report again to arrange for employment outside the coastal area.

Japanese nationals were required to report Friday last, and are moving out to roadwork in B.C. daily. Naturalized citizens report Monday under the same order.

Some confusion arose earlier in the week owing to the fact that the men drafted to leave in the first and second groups were not fully aware of all arrangements. Fuller information and assurances that families and children will be fully cared for have solved these difficulties.

Friday afternoon, Harold Winch, M.L.A., interviewed two groups of draftees, from 4:30 to 6:00 p.m. explaining fully the situation and promising to take up their problems.

Assurance that they would fully comply with the government evacuation order was given by the young men affected.

Saturday morning this promise was again given directly to Austin C. Taylor, Chairman, and Assistant Commissioner,

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F.J.Mead, of the Security Commission, who spoke to the men themselves

It was clearly pointed out and stressed that the men wish to comply with the order for the sake of the whole community.

The departure of the men will assure that the plans of the commission to work for as humane and just a program in evacuation as possible will go ahead.

Among the matters which were cleared up were questions of shortness of notice, fear for the welfare of wives, children and other dependents left behind, recognition of status as citizens or 'enemy aliens' and the discounting of many wild rumors concerning the destination and future work of the men".

"The N.C." March 28th,

"Vanguard of Nisei Bound for Ontario

The following list includes the names of some 200 second generation who will form the first contingent of Nisei going down to work in Ontario.

The list includes all those actually called to report for employment". (Author's note: this list has not been reproduced here.)

March 30th, there was a meeting in the office of Labour Minister Humphrey Mitchell. Attending were Peter Heenan, the Provincial Minister of Labour; James F. March, the Provincial Deputy Minister of Labour; A. MacNamara; R.M. Smith, the Deputy Minister of Highways of Ontario; and J.M. Wardle. This meeting laid down the ground rules for the handling of the men in the camps and how the requests for employment in outside work would be handled. (43) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 1., for text)

Budget problems seemed to be evident, even in that day. Hill, the OC, RCMP, in Vancouver wrote, on the 30th, to Commissioner Wood asking, that Wood write to the Head Office officials of the Rail Road companies requesting free transportation for the two guards who were on their way to Schreiber with the first party of Japanese men headed there. Hill had already asked and had been

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

turned down. (5) (Author's note: It was not evident that CPR or CNR ever provided free travel for the guards.)

Also on the 30th, Sandys-Munsch, OC "D" Division in Winnipeg, wrote to the NCO in charge of the Fort William detachment suggesting that *"should the Japs desire to visit any town in the vicinity of the camp, they should do so without trespassing on any private property. ... It would be as well to have some system set up whereby should any Jap be absent from camp, record of such absence would be immediately available"*. (5)

Staff Sergeant G.A. Renton, in charge of the Intelligence Service, in Winnipeg, reported, on the 30th, on a trip which he had made on the 24th to the 27th, to Fort William, Port Arthur and Schreiber to recruit Special Constables. He reported that: *"generally speaking the citizens favor the project. Many of the people I spoke to including prospective S/Csts. have had previous experience with Japs and all are more than sympathetic to the project. Those officials who from the nature of their office can be expected to have something to do with the Japs impressed me with their sincerity towards the project. ... I am impelled to state that I believe the situation fully warrants the stationing of a uniformed member of the Force at this point. It will be readily understood that despite the fact that everything seems to favor the project, there will undoubtedly be occasions where the advantage of having immediately available an experienced regular member of the Force will do much to ensure safety and cohesion and co-operation among those affected. From the nature of the country and the nature of the project I do not think this recommendation is unwarranted"*. (22)

There was a Memorandum of Agreement respecting a proposed agreement between the Dominion Government and the Provincial Government of Ontario which was made on April the 1st. The significant paragraphs in the Memorandum were as follows:

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"The Federal Government agrees to remove these Japanese Labourers from the Province of Ontario at the conclusion of the war.

The Federal Government guarantees that the Japanese will not become a charge on the province, any city or municipality, for relief or other social service charges". (44) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 2.a, for the complete text) (Author's note: there was a similar agreement made with Alberta and Manitoba, see 2.b, BCSC letter of April 7th, 1942. (22) When I came across this Memorandum of Agreement, I sat stunned, and an overwhelming wave of sadness engulfed me. It seemed that no one had been prepared to welcome us as Canadians back then; we were pariahs! We were just bodies to be used in a labour shortage emergency, caused by the war, and then exiled again! I had come to Ontario because I thought the people and government were more tolerant here, than the people of BC, but that was not so then. If I had known that we were being accepted conditionally, I don't know whether I would have come. For those of us who had volunteered to come to Ontario willingly, it was a case of ignorance being bliss.)

Commissioner Stringer of the OPP wrote to Commissioner Wood, on April the 2nd, to clarify who was paying for the expenses being incurred in this project. He wrote that it was his understanding that the Federal government had: *"undertaken to supply all meals, necessary bedding and other equipment for all Japanese engaged in this project"*, and it was his understanding that this would include the cost of *"all the Guards and similar personnel"*. (5)

"The N.C." Thurs. April 2nd,

"All's Well in Ontario

Next Group Goes April 7

First Group Arrives in Ontario

A wire from Schreiber Ontario to The New Canadian, indicates that all is well with the first group of second generation who left here last Sunday. The wire follows:

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

'Everything on schedule. Conduct orderly and all in good spirits. Have 24 hour freedom of private baggage car. No baggage examined. Accommodation on car warm and okay. Cooking facilities limited but got sufficient food.

Bring own bedding and ordinary work clothes. Personal effects as desired.

Train took us right to campsite located alongside half-completed highway that we will work on. One camp nearly full. Twenty-five similar camps located along highway near here. Good buildings, provisions, beds all waiting.

Now Thursday April 2nd, all running smoothly. Electricity running water soon as possible.

Schreiber forty minute walk along highway. Fourteen hundred population, stores, show, bank, post office everything.

Address all mail care of 'Camp' SW 5-5.

Given assignment to write for Toronto Star Weekly re Canadians moved to Ontario. Everything better than expected. Welcomed by many people in Schreiber'.

48 - 72 hours Notice for Future Movements

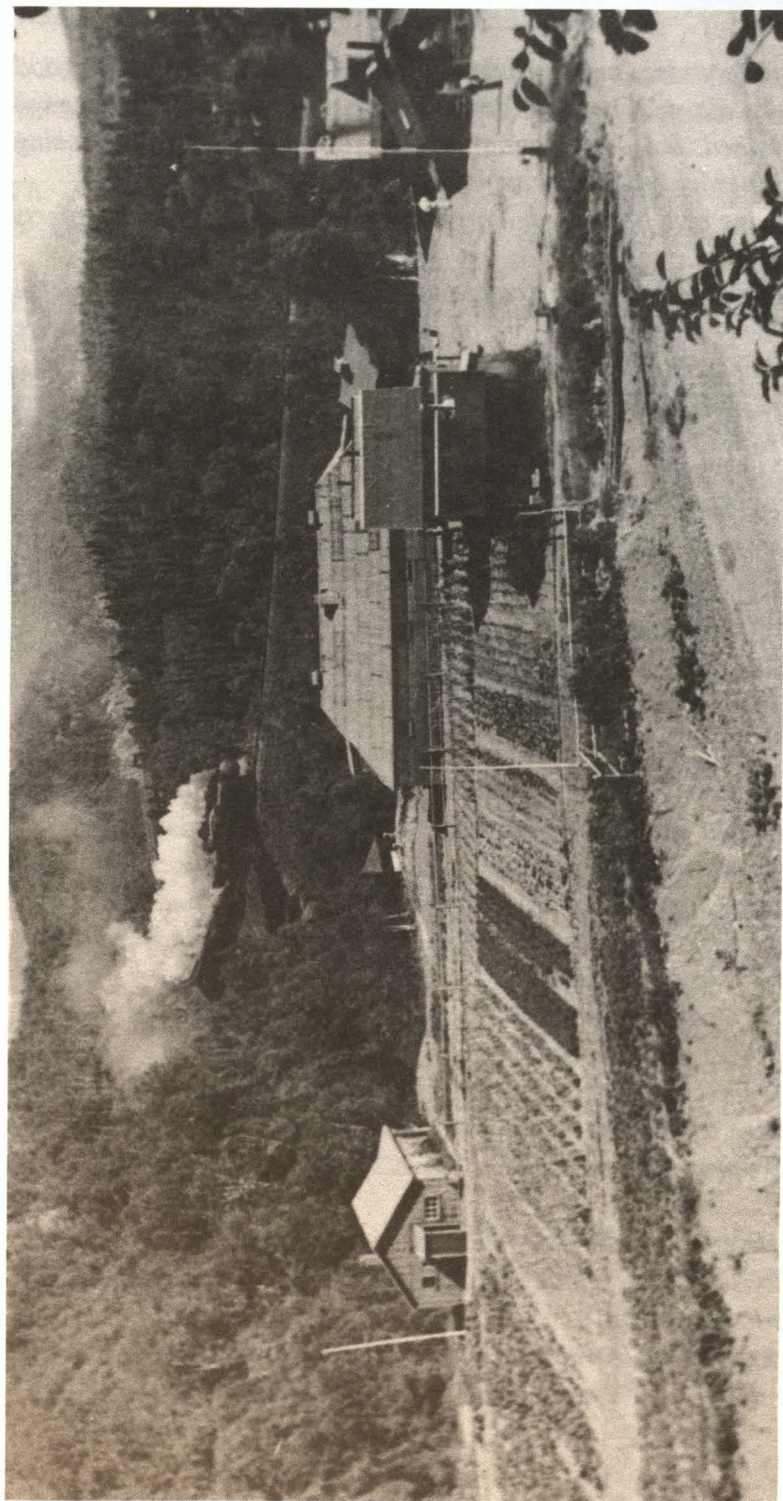
Vancouver - Future movements of second generation out of the protected area have been delayed until next Tuesday, April 7, it was announced Wednesday. On that day 100 Nisei, who have passed through the R.C.M.P., the Custodian, and the Labor department are due to follow the 132 men already settled at Schreiber, Ontario.

In future, according to a Commission announcement, all evacuees, upon reporting to the R.C.M.P. for instructions to leave, will be given 48 to 72 hours notice after reporting. This will relieve complaints that evacuees do not receive sufficient time to make proper preparations to leave.

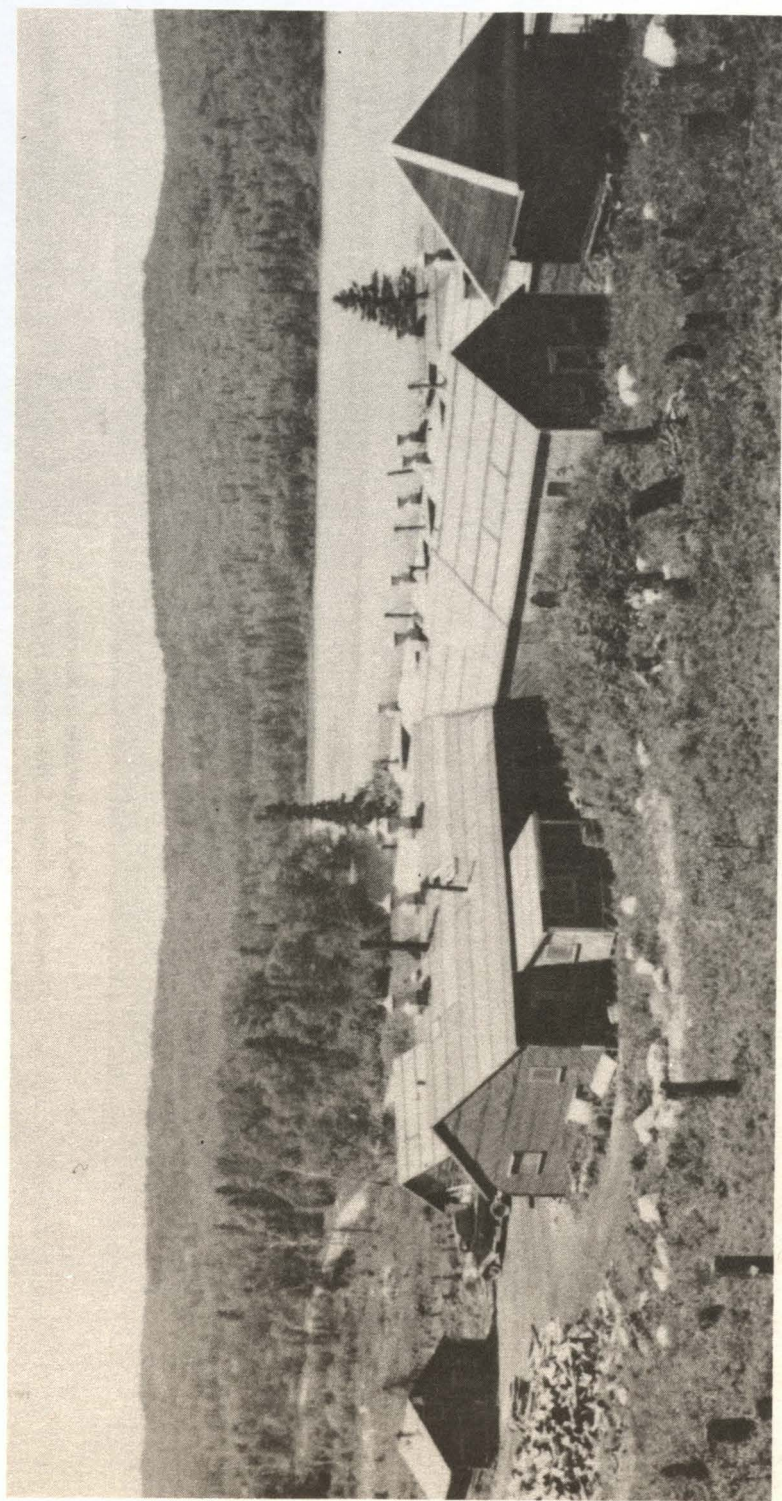
.....

'Everything OK' was the message received from the 132 Nisei who left here Sunday night and arrived at Schreiber, Ont. Wednesday night.

An 'enjoyable trip' was reported from several post cards mailed on the way to the new clearing station, from which some 3,000



Schreiber Camp S.W. 5-5 & Garden 1943 (Credit: Public Archives of Canada, C140073)



Jackfish Camp S.W. 5-3 May 1942 (Credit: Public Archives of Canada, C140075)



Some Jackfish men on the road.

Front Lt - Rt: T. Sato, I. Wakimoto, F. Kariya, Y. Shimoda, D. Sugai, S. Nakashima, N. Kaiyura, J. Ito, S. Shimizu. Back Lt - Rt: T. Sugai, K. Kubota, Murakami, S. Mori, Tanizawa, G. Umemoto, Hayashi (Courtesy: David Sugai)



More Jackfish men.

*Front Row Lt - Rt: K.Kubota, T.Sugai, J.Ito
Backrow Lt - Rt: S. Nakamura, Y. Shimoda, T. Goto, D. Sugai, S. Nakashima,
F.Kariya, M. Kaiyura, G. Umemoto.*

(Both photographs courtesy: David Sugai)

*Front Lt - Rt: M. Isoshima, T. Goto, G. Kenno
Backrow Lt - Rt: F. Kagawa, S. Nakashima*

A few more Jackfish men.



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Canadian-born Japanese are expected to go to work on roads and in industry in northern Ontario.

Tosh Nishijima of New Westminster told the Canadian Press at Winnipeg that the second generation 'realize that circumstances over which neither the government nor we had any control forced the move.'

'We like the Mounties' said Dave Watanabe of Vancouver. 'They have been good to us' "

"The N.C." April 2nd,

"Tak Shikatani Writes

Tak Shikatani has written a newsy letter to friends in Hastings Park recounting his journey to Camp No. SW 5-3 at Jackfish, Ontario.

'The boys and myself certainly got a surprise on our trip to Ontario. Crossing the Rockies was a treat we never expected and I know from their conversation they are glad that they volunteered for this part of Canada,' he writes.

'We will be settled soon and ready for work. Our camp is situated on a beautiful lake called 'Jackfish' and we are looking forward to evening dips when the days get warmer.'

Mr. Shikatani also gives some words of appreciation of the considerate manner in which they were treated by two members of the R.C.M.P. who were on the train with them going east. He closes with the assurance that the boys in Camp SW 5-3 are enjoying themselves and making the best of everything."

Mills, in Schreiber, wrote to Mills, in Ottawa, on April 7th reporting on the progress of the camp. He wrote that the personnel was excellent with plenty of tradesmen, and in good physical condition. However, there was not a cook to be had in the lot of 134 men. On April 6th, they had started work on the first camp west of Jackfish for 120 men, and on April 8th, another gang would be working on Black Camp about eight miles east of Schreiber. He expected that both would be ready for occupancy about April 20th. The intention was to fill the camps between Schreiber and Jackfish and also between Heron Bay and White River to accommodate about 1500 men. He needed to find a white camp clerk, because the Japanese clerk did not work out, although

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"the Japanese timekeeper was doing fine. ... The reaction of the town of Schreiber to the scheme on the whole seems favourable, especially the merchants. This of course is subject to change without notice". (43)

S/Sgt. Renton reported on April 2nd the arrival of the first group of Japanese workers. They were escorted by two Constables and Renton joined the group at Fort William accompanied by another Constable and Special Constables for guard duties. When they arrived at Schreiber there was still some heavy snow around.

After lunch, which was made up of bacon, eggs, and tea, a detail of carpenters went to work on making dining room tables, and by evening this work was completed.

Running water had not yet been installed in the camp, but there was a horse team available which men could use to haul water in barrels, and there was *"what is known here as a 'FINN' bath at the camp"*. Constable Renton reported that all the members of the group were well behaved, and were under the direction of four committee-men to whom they paid strict attention. He asked one of the committee-men to inform the rest of the camp that it would be advisable for the men not to go into Schreiber for a day or two. Some of the men had already gone into Schreiber, and when Renton later made enquiries in the village, he found that the men had created a very good impression. He concluded his report by saying: *"Judging from the type of Japanese who have been sent into Schreiber it would appear that there is very little need for guards at all. However as the Ontario Provincial Police Commissioner has recommended nine men for duty at this point I would respectfully suggest, that while nine men may be required in the district at a later date, as new camps are opened up and more Japanese are transferred here, that at present seven guards can adequately take care of any duty that might arise. ..."* (22)

S/Sgt. Renton made another visit later to the camp and reported on April the 13th: *"No unauthorized person is allowed in camp, and the Japanese are controlled to a certain extent by our guard. This control was necessary on account of the Japs wanting to get into*

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Schreiber as often as they could break away. In so far as the Japs are concerned Schreiber is out of bounds between the hours of 8 A. M. and 5 P.M. ... Outside of the prohibited hours all Japanese who wish to leave the camp must first register their time of departure with the guards and on return to camp must immediately record their arrival. ... At the present time there are between forty and fifty of the Japanese who will not go out on road work stating that they are deep sea fishermen and it is too hard on their legs to be working on the road. The camp foreman is anxious to know if there is any way by which these men can be disciplined if they will not work.

The majority of the Japanese are happy and contented in their surroundings. They have not yet started to use the steam bath provided by camp authorities and at present they frequent the Y. M. C. A. at Schreiber, where they are provided with a towel, soap and shower bath for 25¢. A new Japanese bath is being erected in camp, this should be functioning by the end of this week.

While there may be one or two of the older residents of Schreiber who object to the Japanese being in their midst, on the whole the Japs are creating a fairly good impression in the town. ... it would appear that while there are a few minor matters to be adjusted, that the camp is operating fairly smoothly. The Japanese are more settled and contented, the management of the camp are fairly well satisfied with the way things are going ... " (22)

W.B. Hutcheson, the new District Engineer, who had replaced Mills who had gone into the Army, wrote to A.A. Smith, the Chief Engineer of the Department in Toronto, on the 7th of April, on the progress of the camps. He expected that the Black and Jackfish Camps would be ready in a week, but suggested that arrival be held up to the 15th. He expected that another camp could be utilized which would then allow 600 men to be accommodated between Schreiber and Jackfish. He added: "*I certainly think that we should run a separate kitchen and dining room for the white men at each camp. ... The Japanese are quite satisfied with the accommodation and the food at the Schreiber Camp. ... they thought they would have to build their own camps*".

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On April 8th, Wardle wired Smith in Toronto that 41 more Japanese were on their way east, and that 80 more would be sent in the next few days. The next day, Hutcheson wired Wardle that the 41 men could be accommodated, but that the 80 would have to wait until the 20th. On the 10th, Mills at Schreiber, reported to Mills in Ottawa, that the 41 men had arrived in the morning and had all been accommodated.

Hutcheson wired Wardle on April the 15th that accommodation would be available for another 100 Japanese by Saturday the 18th and Smith, the Camp Engineer, followed this up on the same day with a letter confirming the Hutcheson telegram. Smith also advised that Schreiber Camp could now accommodate 150 men and confirmed that 100 could be taken on after Saturday. In addition, Black Camp should be in condition to take on 150 more men by the 25th.

With the problems being experienced by the resistance of the NMEG, Commissioner Taylor wrote a letter on April the 8th to Hill the O/C, RCMP Vancouver, about the detention of persons of Japanese race under Order No.5 and his role under the Order. His letter read in part: "*certain Japanese volunteered to proceed to Schreiber...*" He then quoted Order No.5: "*That any person of the Japanese race who fails to obey any order of the British Columbia Security Commission directing any such person to any such place within or without the protected area, shall be detained until further order of the British Columbia Security Commission. The Officer Commanding "E" Division of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is hereby nominated and authorized to enforce the provisions of this order*". (17)

Hill, the OC RCMP in Vancouver, wrote to Commissioner Wood on the 9th of April, to explain what happened with the group of 132 Nisei who were to leave for Schreiber on March 30. A number of them failed to show up, and had to be apprehended. On March 28 this group promised Taylor that they would go to Schreiber but

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failed to show up. The others were more or less forced to go by their parents, according to Hill's contacts.

On April 7 out of a further group of 271 which was supposed to leave, only 96 actually left. He went on to say: *"It will be understood that these Canadian born Japanese are not amenable to discipline as are the Japanese Nationals"*. He also wrote, *"Each case of hardship, however, is made much of by the Nisei, who, unfortunately, lack both discipline and mature judgement. ... A short time ago the Commission considered it advisable to seek the assistance of certain Nisei, and with this object in view Messrs. Shoyama, and Kunio Shimizu, and Miss Uchida were asked to form a Committee on behalf of the Nisei"*. In Hill's opinion this divided the Japanese community into hostile camps which then caused the older committee to withdraw *"almost discredited in the eyes of the Japanese community. The difficulties we are now experiencing with the Nisei appear to date from that time."*

Hill also wrote: *"We relied to a considerable degree on a committee of Japanese composed of Mr. Morii, Mr. Nishiguchi and Mr. Nishio. All three wielded considerable influence amongst the Japanese community generally"*. (5)

"The N.C." April 10th, *"Letters Indicate that Nisei are
Doing All Right at Camp SW 5-5"*

Letters from reliable and responsible men at Schreiber, Ontario, confirm the wire received and published previously by The New Canadian as to conditions in the camp in Northern Ontario. Those interested may see and read the original letters at the office of The New Canadian.

A letter from Frank Nagano reads in part:

'Our camp is situated about two miles east of Schreiber. The town has a population of about two thousand and I spent about an hour there today shopping.

The first impression that struck me was that the town people are not like the people in Vancouver. They are very sympathetic towards us, and needless to say, they are glad to have us.

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Accommodation is O.K. and so is grub. In fact, it's better than what we had at Hastings Park Manning Pool. There's no electric light at the camp yet, but it's under consideration. The water system is another problem. At present we are bringing our water supply from the lake, but they are figuring on connecting a pipe right into our camp. No bath yet, except for a Finnish steam bath. But as soon as the pipes are connected, we shall have our own bath. That's Harry's (Camp Superintendent) promise.'

Dave Watanabe writes in part as follows:

April 4th

'This half completed portion of the highway (Trans-Canada) stretches about 120 miles east of Schreiber to White River. There are 24 camps similar to our own all along this route. Our's is the most westerly camp. S.W. 5-5 stands for Schreiber, White River, Division 5, Camp 5.

Schreiber is to be the headquarters for all the Japanese to be evacuated to Ontario. Our camp and eight others held 150 men each when they were first constructed and used by the men who half completed this section of the highway. 13 camps held 75 men each. One 50 men, and the other 300 men. Total 2675 men for the 24 camps.

Mr. A.M.Mills, the engineer in charge of all the Japanese to be sent here to these camps informs me that the camps will be filled in order from the west (Schreiber) beginning with our own. More camps will be built if needed. Existing camps will all be improved, when either he or the men in the camps themselves, decide such improvements are desirable.

In our camp we are going to get a large kitchen range to replace the two small ones here. A reading room will be constructed. One of the buildings here, formerly used by a doctor has been turned over to Harry Kamo (first aid and timekeeper), Frank Nagano and myself for our use as an office. A gasoline pump for pumping water just arrived this morning. We will get a large tank and have running water. Also electricity as soon as they can get the materials which are now difficult to obtain because of war priorities. This morning the head carpenter and I designed a

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Japanese type of bath house capable of handling about 25 men at a time.

Mr. Jewell (Camp Superintendent) gives us the right to improve the camp in any way, and things are rapidly getting into shape. Even now, I can impartially say that things are very good, except for the bath house, which we expect to have ready in a week or so.

'Flash' ----Just been outside for a few minutes. Water pump mentioned earlier is now installed in a stream 300 feet away. Water now running into kitchen.

*A second letter received Thursday follows in part
April 7th*

We expect the camp for the next bunch to be ready in a few days. It will be about 15 miles east of our camp. The address is Camp SW 5-3. The superintendent of this next camp is John St. Jean. He went to the camp yesterday with a few men and a freight carload of supplies to get the camp ready.

Everything running smoothly now. Everybody on the payroll and working from yesterday. Cutting wood, shovelling snow, fixing buildings and so forth. (Report on weather conditions may not be published because of wartime censorship regulations - Editor)

Have been given a wonderful reception in Schreiber. We are welcome in all the churches, at dances in the Y.M.C.A., in sports of all kinds.'

Dave also wrote a letter on the 4th, to Mitchell, the Minister of Labour. A copy of it is reproduced here:

"Copy

*Schreiber, Ontario
Camp No. S.W. 5-5
April 4th, 1942.*

*Hon. H. Mitchell,
Minister of Labour,
Dep't of Labour,
Ottawa, Ontario.*

Dear Sir:

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

I am one of the first group of one hundred thirty-four Canadians of Japanese origin transferred to Schreiber, Ontario from the Defense Zone of British Columbia. I am representing the "New Canadian", Canada's only newspaper for and by the Canadians of Japanese origin, in Ontario.

I have undertaken the work of setting up a committee here at this camp to represent all the Canadians of Japanese origin to be sent to Ontario. I am alone at this stage of the work but will have an advisory board with a representative from each camp as soon as possible.

Re: Aims of this committee

1.To acquaint the public and the prospective employers of Ontario with us people. To let them know that we are not enemies that have come here to compete with the people of Ontario but we are Canadians like they are either by birth or by choice. (Naturalized Canadians).

2.To assist the government in its task of getting employers interested in using us to relieve their labour shortage.

3.To assist Mr. A.M.Mills, engineer in charge of all the Japanese moved to the various camps between Schreiber and White River, in running these camps in an orderly and as efficient a manner as possible.

I, in the meantime, would like to get a statement from you regarding the following:

1.Explain fully if these camps are a clearing pool to get manpower for essential Ontario industries and that while we are waiting for such employment we are going to work on the Trans-Canada Highway from Schreiber to White River, Ontario.

2.a. Rate of pay for this work.

b. Do we have deducted from the above, any taxes, if so, specify.

c. Are we covered by unemployment insurance, and do we contribute to same?

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3. Are the 3000 coming here all Canadian born, like our first group of 134? Will naturalized Canadians be coming? Will there be any Japanese Nationals?

The above information will be dispersed among the camps here and through the "New Canadian" newspaper in Vancouver so that the Japanese people will not have to believe various rumours that are bound to circulate in matters of this nature.

Please reply as soon as possible.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) Dave Watanabe. (19)

This letter eventually arrived on Wardle's desk, and he replied on the 23rd as follows:

Ottawa, Ontario,

April 23, 1942.

Dear Mr. MacNamara:

I am returning herewith the letter to the Honourable Mr. Mitchell from Dave Watanabe, a Canadian National Japanese at Schreiber, Ontario.

I am not favourable to the establishment of any local committees of Japanese in any of the camps, except to promote legitimate recreation. Our experience has been that any committees formed in connection with the general operation or conduct of the camps are a nuisance and a source of trouble. Regulations already provide that any Japanese with a legitimate grievance can take up the matter with the foreman or the Engineer in Charge. With the approach of good weather there is no reason why the Japanese cannot organize softball teams in camp and they can have an athletic or recreation committee for this purpose.

Watanabe also has in mind some form of publicity committee, but I think such work is the responsibility of the British Columbia Security Commission and certainly not be initiated and carried on by a Japanese committee in the construction camps.

Yours very truly,

J.M. Wardle

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

Director. (19)

Mills, in Schreiber, reported on April the 15th to Mills, in Ottawa, on the arrival of the second group of men to the S-J Highway Project. They were initially housed in S.W. 5-5, the Camp just outside of Schreiber. The Camp now held 174 men, which was about 25 more than desirable, but Black Camp, S.W. 5-4, was being readied for occupation by the men, and plans were being made to move some of the men in about one week. Work was also going on at Camp S.W. 5-3, which was west of Jackfish and also on Camp S.W. 5-2, about five miles west. All four Camps were capable of housing 150 men each. They were also planning the opening of more camps between Heron Bay and White River capable of holding an additional 1,000 men, but these were never required, because of the resistance of the Nisei, in BC, to go to the S-J Highway Project in Ontario. (19) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 3., for complete text)

On April 18th, Renton, I/C Fort William detachment, wrote a report in which he noted that more Japanese were being sent to Jackfish Camp to work on the highway. Some of the men had asked him if it was OK to go into Jackfish, to the beer parlour, to have a glass of beer. He made the decision that the beer parlour would be out of bounds for the Japanese, until he heard otherwise. (5)

When Tucker, the Superintendent i/c of CIB, received Renton's report, he immediately wrote a letter on the 20th, to Taylor, Chairman of the BCSC, about beer parlour privileges for the Japanese men. Copies also went to Hill, the OC, "E" Division in Vancouver, and Commissioner Wood in Ottawa. (5)

On the 19th of May, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario sent out a Special Circular for Authority Holders. The Circular read: *"The Board has decided that authorized premises in Ontario shall be considered "Out-of-Bounds" to Japanese who have been moved from Canadian West Coast areas to Camps in this Province for employment purposes.*

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In view of the above you are reminded to see that such persons are not permitted within the Beverage Rooms of your authorized premises". (14)

William A. Parfitt, a Constable of the Ontario Provincial Police reported that Japanese were consuming beer at the Lakeview Hotel, in Jackfish, Ontario. An extract from his report of May the 26th, said in part:

2. It has come to my attention that the Japanese who are working in the Government Camps near Jackfish, Ontario, frequent the beverage room in the Lakeview Hotel in Jackfish.

3. According to the rules of the British Columbia Security Commission these Japanese are not allowed to have, consume or be in possession of liquor or beer.

4. Under the present circumstances these Japanese are frequenting the Beverage Parlor as are the soldiers (Veterans Guards) from the Neys Internment Camps who often come to Jackfish for the weekends. It is thought by the writer that if this condition is allowed to exist there will no doubt be a clash between the two aforementioned parties at some time or other.

5. According to the information at hand the Management of the Hotel have no order from the Liquor Control Board of Ontario or from any other source not to serve the Japanese beer and such being the case I would respectfully request an understanding in this regard. (14)

After Parfitt's report, the Liquor Control Board of Ontario, sent out Circular Number 3186, on the 29th, "to All Vendors, Brewery Inspectors, Native Wine Licensees, and the Brewers Warehousing Companies Limited.

Please be advised that this Board has ruled that no alcoholic beverages shall be sold to Japanese who have been moved from Canadian West Coast areas to points in this Province for employment purposes. Kindly acquaint each member of your staff with this ruling and ensure that the utmost care is taken to prevent evasion of same". (14) (Author's note: I smiled when I read the Circular. The Commissioner, whose name was at the top left hand

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corner of the stationery, was Arthur St. Clair Gordon, the man who would be giving me my first job, in July of 1948, after I had graduated from the University of Toronto.)

On April 20th, notices were posted in the camps which restricted the activities of the men in Ontario contrary to the implied assurances of greater freedom in the East, which the men had been given prior to their departure from Vancouver. This prompted Y. Madokoro, in one of the Schreiber camps, to send a wire to Mrs. Mary Madokoro, in Hastings Park: *"Wire reply immediately. Tell Haruo Kimoto wire information your side. Yesterday British Columbia Security Commission posted order and regulation here by which Taylor broke his word of honour to us. Accordingly we have protested to him by wire Thursday deadline for reply if reply not satisfactory you can see the consequence. Weather too hot"*. (43)

The notices created unrest and dissatisfaction in the Schreiber Camps, and prompted a visit from S/Sgt. Renton of the RCMP. He wrote a five page report, on the 23rd, in which he pointed to Dave Watanabe as the instigator of the unrest. The men resented the fact that Taylor had assured them that they would have much more freedom in the Ontario Camps. They believed that they had been misled by him, in order to get them to volunteer to come to Ontario. In addition, the posted orders were signed by Mills, the Resident Engineer, who was not a representative of the Commission. (14) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 4., for Renton's report) (Author's note: the reader is encouraged to read this report, because there are some interesting and amusing social comments made by Renton.)

Mead wrote to MacNamara, on May 2nd, about the complaints by the men in the Schreiber Camps and commented: *"The B.C. Security Commission is in agreement with the comments expressed in Mr. Wardle's letter. (Author's note: of the 23rd complaining about Dave Watanabe?) When these regulations were compiled, the Commission had in mind the British Columbia picture but we see no reason why the same should not be applicable to the other camps where Japanese are employed. Our*

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representative, Graham Pipher, is now residing in Schreiber and he has been communicated with regarding regulation one, and I feel certain that he will use common sense in its interpretation".

(19) (Author's note: as I remember, Pipher leaned over backward to keep in the good graces of the men, because it was in his interests to have the men locate in private employment, that was his job. We were able to go to Schreiber relatively freely, although in the case of the men in Camp Black, it was a long way in by foot, and some of us did not have cab fare readily at hand so we had to walk or catch a ride on the camp truck when it was going to town. As I recall, I usually waited to catch a ride, I heard there were bears in the woods. Our destination was the Blue Moon Cafe where we could get a milk shake or ice cream and play the juke box. My favourites were " Sleepy Lagoon " by Harry James and Woody Herman's " Calliope Blues " and "Cherokee Maiden ".)

"Shige" at Camp S.W. 5-3, Jackfish wrote on April 21st to Miss H. M. in Vancouver, and the Censor extracted portions of the letter, no indication on the disposition of the letter: " This camp is just a same as concentration camp now. Boys used to go to Jackfish for a walk once in a while, but now the B.C. Security clamped down on us. We can't go out of this camp, there's a boundary set and beyond that, there's a guard. We're suppose to put our lights out at 10 o'clock but they haven't found out yet. Don't believe anything what the B.C. Security or the New Canadian tells you - -The B.C. Security promised us all kinds of privileges, because we were volunteers, but they're the worse bunch of liars that ever lived or will live. We can't fish, can't hunt, can't go out, can't own a short wave radio, gotta turn the lights out at ten o' clock, we gotta pay for all the tools we damage - - - can't get a job outside of here. Schreiber is no Manning Pool it's a concentration camp. There's a German Concentration Camp few miles from here - -and the guards are all - - - return soldiers - - - and they make a lot of trouble for us. For God's sake tell everybody not to come here or they'll be here for the duration. Drive anybody nuts around here. Work started on Monday clearing out this camp of ours, but nobody is doing any work. Maybe we'll pull a strike pretty soon.

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

H., it looks pretty hopeless for us just now, can't save any money after they deduct board and all kinds of junk. If they pay us, which I doubt very much. I like to hop the freight and get out of here pretty soon - - - This is a jail, H., just a jail - - - ." (46)

Wardle commented to MacNamara on the above letter on May 8th, saying in part: "The only possible objection Canadian-born Japanese might have to the camp Regulations is in regard to Regulation No. 1 prohibiting movement outside camp boundaries without permission, and it seems a matter for the British Columbia Security Commission to decide whether they wish to waive this regulation insofar as the Canadian-born Japanese are concerned. ... all the other regulations are along the lines that we have enforced for years in the case of ordinary construction camps. I would suggest that the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer have a talk with the writer of the letter, who may be spreading dissatisfaction throughout the camp." (46)

"The N.C." April 21st, "Nisei Improving own Highway
Camp by Dave Watanabe

Our camp has improved a lot since we came here. Roadwork has not yet started except for a small gang filling in the small ruts with cinders from the Canadian Pacific Railway yards in Schreiber. All the others are busily engaged in fixing up the buildings, chopping wood, clearing the grounds, making the bath-house, extending the mess hall and a dozen other jobs.

The second group of forty (who reached Schreiber on April 10) took it easy the first day. Many of them went to town to look it over. From the second day everyone was asked to work. They turned out 100 percent. They are a most co-operative group.

Frank Kono (formerly the Empress cafe) has been assigned the task of redesigning the entire kitchen and teaching more efficient methods to young boys who are working there. They are willing and hard working, but most of them are new to this type of work. Mr. K. Kadota, former foreman at Englewood and Nobokata Kawaguchi, of Alert Bay are making tables, cabinets and so forth according to Frank's sketches.

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"Ginger" Matsushita of Skeena is the able foreman of 17 carpenters. Under his supervision, old buildings are being renovated and new ones are mushrooming into existence.

S. Seki of New Westminster is the bull boss. His gang looks after the wood, water, garbage, cleaning up and all the odd jobs that continually crop up.

Frank Nagano of Ocean Falls is at present heading the gang building the foundations for an addition to the bunk house.

Harry Kamo of Vancouver and (???) B.C. is the resident first aid man and timekeeper. George Hori is assisting Harry in the first aid work, going out on the job with the boys."

"The N.C." April 21st, "Premier Hepburn Assures Citizens of Even Break

In an interview Sunday on his St. Thomas farm, Premier Mitchell Hepburn gave assurances that Canadian citizens of Japanese origin evacuated to Ontario from the British Columbia coast would be placed as soon as possible in productive active industry, particularly in logging, sawmilling and on the farms.

'When the camps at Schreiber are completed and the men are placed there,' the Premier declared, 'the Ontario government will allocate them to various mills. The mills are anxious to have the men. In fact, one mill alone can put 4,000 men to work.'

The Premier felt that road work in a time of national emergency was an unnecessary waste of man-power, stating that road work would be depended upon only as a last resort.

Prevailing Wages

'When the men come to Ontario, they will not be internees, they are citizens and will be treated well. Food will be good as well as living quarters,' Mr. Hepburn told this correspondent.

'The prevailing wages will be paid, equal to those of other Canadian workers, from 40 cents an hour and up. There may be some who wish to work on a piece work basis.'

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Mr. Hepburn made a vigorous denial of rumors that men would be placed on tankers. He stressed again that men would not be treated as internees.

This correspondent was much impressed by the obvious sincerity of the Ontario premier.

It will be up to the Nisei themselves to prove that Premier Hepburn is right".

The Censor intercepted a letter written on May 12th, by "George" in Walton Mills in Ontario to a Japanese in Vancouver. The portion excerpted follows: *" Did you report for any camp, stay away if you can until they come for you. We should have stayed there until the Woodfibre bunch came out. The camps were lousy out in Jackfish. I knew many of them so I felt better than to be in Schreiber. Our bunch worked 2½ days in Jackfish, and two days later God knows where we went out in the sticks."*

This excerpt got back to Wardle and his reply to MacNamara on June 1st was: *" The camps we are using in the Schreiber-Jackfish area are, as you know, old highway construction camps used by Ontario contractors or by the Province for day labour work and naturally are as good or as comfortable as the new camps we have built. However they were accepted without complaint by white men, and I think we can assume will be clean and tidy".*

Later in the month Mills, the Resident Engineer, replied to Mills, in Ottawa, about George's letter with this reply which amused me greatly when I came across it: *"there is no doubt that there was considerable cleaning up to do after these boys arrived, but I can't find any trace of vermin or any one else who did". (18)*

Mr. T.P.Sully sent a handwritten letter to Mills, in Ottawa, on April 22nd, requesting permission to use some of the men at the road camp, to build a row boat, for commercial fishing. The letter is reproduced here because it was probably the first of the private opportunities which opened up for the men in the Schreiber Camps.

"Schreiber

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April 22/1942.

T.S. Mills,
Chief Engineer,
Department of Mines & Resources,
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:-

I have been talking to Mr. Mills superintendent over the Japanese located here in Schreiber, in regard to getting permission to have these Japanese build me a row boat after working hours, as I understand there are several boat builders among them.

I require this boat for commercial fishing and it is impossible to get anything done at the Dry docks in Port Arthur along this line and all local boat builders are engaged in war work.

Mr. Mills requested that I write you and ask your permission to have these Japanese build this boat. I will pay them for their labor and supply the material.

Trusting to have an early reply as I would like to have this boat by June 1st. and have to order the material from Ottawa.

Yours truly,
T.P. Sully
Schreiber, Ont. (19)

Sully never did get his boat for June 1st. When Mills referred the letter to Wardle for his opinion, it took until July 4th to get Mr. K. Kadota and his two sons Charles and George released to go to Rossport. Sully was required to provide housing for the men. (43)

"Tad" or "Tod" at the same Camp wrote to Miss Margaret H. at 802 E. Hastings St., in Vancouver, on April the 29th, and the Censor had these Comments to make: "*Submitted as illustrating the mental attitude of Canadian born Japanese to the removal from defence area order. Writer considers that his race is being discriminated against as compared with other enemy aliens and comments that their status is now' lower than the Indian'.*"

Copy of the letter follows:-

M 101,

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

Camp S.W. 5-3,
Jackfish, Ont., April 29, 1942.

Dear Margaret:

Here we are at last, thousands of miles away from home, with a status perhaps lower than that of an Indian. It certainly is hard to believe that the country in which we were born, raised, and educated could be so callous in their treatment of us. After all, legally speaking, we are Canadian citizens, and as such, we deserve a better fate than this. If there has been any bitterness manifested in our hearts, it is through no fault of our own. I know I shouldn't say all this, but on the other hand, why should we attempt to camouflage our feelings. If the big-wigs behind all this were really sincere and patriotic in their endeavours to promote national defence, then they would consider all enemy aliens etc., as a menace and threat to public safety. But as proof of ulterior motives, is the fact that one particular group has been made the 'goat'. The manner in which we have been discriminated against, is contrary to the principles of Democracy, and can only have results, detrimental to the best interests of all those concerned. Before I go any further, I'll have to extend an apology to you Margaret—I intended this as a letter, and here I've unconsciously proceeded to pour out a sob story, as if you haven't enough troubles and worries of your own. Hope you don't mind.

Perhaps you are eagerly awaiting some sort of information and news concerning things in general. Well, there are no colourful tales of adventure to relate, no hair-breadth escapades to discuss.

Except for changeable weather, the trip was uneventful. We reached here Friday noon, and at first, were rather taken aback by the apparent isolation of the camp. However, after a few days of outdoor life, the majority seemed to have banished that lost feeling. As far as the geographical nature of the country is concerned, we have no grounds for complaint. The camp is located right by the shores of Jackfish Lake, with sloping hills rising in the distance. About two miles distant, nestled on Lake Superior, is the town of Jackfish itself. However, it is not a town in the real sense of the word, as it only consists of a hotel, store, and

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a few houses. We are about 20 miles from Schreiber, and about 15 miles from the other camp (S.W. 5-5).

Our camp consists of a bunk-house, mess-house, office, recreation room, and several other small shacks. The bath-house is in the final stages of construction. Up till now we have washed down in the lake and boy, is it cold. Anytime you are enjoying hot running water, just think of us shivering in the wilds of far away Ontario, and feel sorry for us. (If you lay claim to a warm heart, here's your chance to prove it).

The meals are fair--in fact, I think it is safe to say, they are satisfactory. The chief cook is Occidental, the rest of the staff being Jap. The bunk-house is heated up by five stove heaters, and the beds are arranged similar to those in Hastings Park--two tiers high.

This camp holds about 150 men.

The next bunch will be going about four miles further into the bush from here.

The actual roadwork hasn't started yet--we have been clearing all the bush away from around the lake and camp. The mill work we anticipated has not materialized yet. A Mr. Pipher was here the other day (representing the B.C. Security Commission) and told us negotiations were being made whereby we may obtain employment in private industry. In the meanwhile he told us to sit tight, and above all, co-operate. If and when we are accepted into the labour movement of Ontario, will mark the second chapter of the "mass evacuation". Who can foretell the climax.

I've sure done a lot of raving myself--I think it's time to ask a few questions. How's everything over there Margaret? "Lil Tokyo" (Author's note: for those non-Japanese readers who are unaware of the term, it refers to Japanese town in Vancouver whose main street was Powell Street.) must now be a very lonely spot. No more will our footsteps echo down the sidewalks, as we head towards Ernie's. The pleasant memories of our last few weeks in Vancouver are fast fading into the dim and distant past. Who knows when we'll see the bright lights of Vancouver again? But

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after that last April 1st, I guess you'd rather see me stuck away in the sticks. (But there's always long-distance telephone).

Say, how about sending out some of them fish and chips? It makes my mouth water just to think of that Sunday evening at your place--I don't know why but I sure enjoyed the chips that night. (Could it be the company?) For obvious reasons, we live in anticipation of letters from home--what other consolation is there?

May this letter find you all enjoying the very best of health. Perhaps you have some good news for us--anyway I'll be expecting some. Meanwhile, good-bye & good luck.

Sincerely,

Tad. (19)

(Author's note: The inclusion of the complete text of the letter in the files was quite unusual, usually the offending or offensive portions were excerpted or excised. Most of this letter was quite innocuous and personal, and I felt indebted to the Censor for the opportunity to include such an articulate, philosophical and somewhat poignant letter in this book. The complete address of the intended recipient of this letter has been included in the hope that she will learn of this letter which she may have never received. The letter appeared to have originally been "condemned", and then "held", whatever that meant. Whether it was subsequently released can't be determined, except through Margaret or Tad.)

An intercepted letter from K.R. at S.W. 5-5, Schreiber, to K.N. at S.W. 5-3, Jackfish, written May 8th, which the Censor released. The Comments: "*In part the writer says: 'I've got a job as rough carpenter, and boy do we take it easy. Our gang, S.T., M.S., S.I., I.K. and H.J., the laziest gang in this Camp I think, we sleep all day. Took 2 or 3 days to put tar paper (thick paper) on a roof which could be finished in 1 day. The other guys here are on the road or in the gravel pit. They seem to take it easy.'*

Otherwise harmless." (19)

"The N.C." May 14th, "Nisei Arrive in Ontario

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Safe arrival of the party of 50 Niseis from the city, the manning pool, and Woodfibre, who left Monday via C.P.R. is reported in a wire this morning from Kunio Shimizu, former general secretary of the Japanese Citizens Council and business manager of The New Canadian, who was a member of the party. The latest group is being settled at Black River Camp SW 5-4". (Author's note: I had finally arrived in Ontario! I still had most of the \$24 with which I had left Vancouver, proceeds of the sale of my bike. The Custodian later wrote to me, when I was in Glencoe, asking what had happened to it. There was snow on the ground and it was cold! We were told to get into a metal-sided trailer with a tarp over it, with straw on the steel floor of the trailer and hauled to our destination by a caterpillar tractor, 6 or 8 miles into the bush, to Camp Black. Some of the fellows jumped down from the trailer, and ran behind to keep warm; I was afraid to, because I wasn't sure I'd be able to climb back in. It was cold in that trailer and we weren't dressed for Northern Ontario; and the thing moved so slowly!)

With our arrival, the number of men in the Schreiber area was 329, according to a memo which Mills in Ottawa, sent to Wardle.

Early in May, the Ontario Department of Agriculture was discussing with the Federal Department of Labour the use of Japanese men on the farms in South-Western Ontario. An agreement was made between the two Governments for the use of 500 men for work primarily on the sugar beet farms. The plan was to have the men in the Road Camps volunteer to go to work in the sugar beet fields, and other farm work as required.

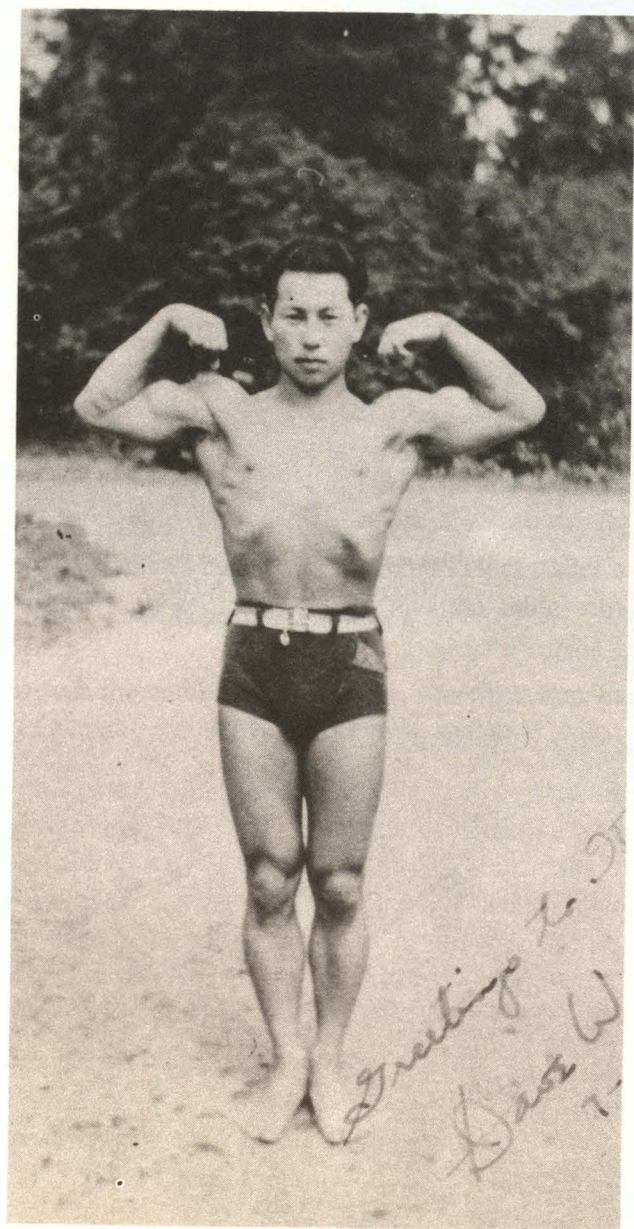
On the 29th, Mills in Schreiber, notified Mills in Ottawa, that 154 men had left for the Beet Camps. The first group was headed for Glencoe and Dresden, and their letters to their friends and families back in BC and the Road Camps about the unfamiliar back-breaking labour would result in the Government finding it extremely difficult to fulfil their end of the bargain in providing 500 men for work in the sugar beet fields and men for the Camps in the Schreiber area. Mills, in Schreiber reported that with the outflow to the Sugar Beet Camps, and the expected inflows to the Road Camps, he would be left with a complement of 155 men and



*Jackfish men leaving for sugar beet camp
(Dover Centre) June 4, 1942
(Courtesy: David Sugai)*



*3 Men from Camp Black at Valetta June 1942.
Lt - Rt K. Shimizu, D. Watanabe, G. Tanaka
(Courtesy: Kyoshi Shimizu)*



*Dave Watanabe at Valetta
July 27, 1942
(Courtesy: Kyoshi Shimizu)*

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in Ottawa, Mills was asking Wardle if one of the Camps should be closed. (43)

An intercepted letter of May 20th, from "Tosh" in Camp S.W. 5-5, Schreiber, to M.O., at Taft, was released by the Censor. The Censor's Comments: "*Letter from Japanese in camp at Schreiber to Japanese friend in camp at Taft, discusses the possibilities of Japanese being conscripted into the army.*

Excerpts:

'Again it is my hunch from what I interpreted from Mr. Pipher we will eventually be taken as 'hei-tai', (soldiers.). I just don't know how conscription will affect us but that is my personal opinion shared by many.

'Every night they gamble from supper time to mid-night and just ignore the ten o'clock lights out. I guess everyone has 'yoke-okosu' (become desperate) since we found out just how we're going to be handled, yet there is a chance that they did not mean it as taken to be 'hei tai' but for conscription of labour only.' (19)

When this letter came to the attention of Wardle, he drew the "lights-out" infraction to Mills and suggested that the Resident Engineer warn the men that if the infractions continued, the lights would be removed from the bunk-houses until assurance was given that the rule would be followed, and "*As a last resort the Royal Canadian Mounted Police can lay charges against offenders as provided for in General Order No. 10 of the Camp Regulations*". (43)

"The N.C." May 23rd, "*Rejuvenation at Jackfish Camp*
by Kyuichi Ozaki

Jackfish, Ont. - Camp life is not as bad as one would believe. Although the work is on the easy side, we are somewhat distressed by the fact that we cannot take a bath every night, and the inconvenience that we feel here is beyond imagination compared to the life in Vancouver. However, I believe time will solve everything.

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Since we have become used to this life, we do not feel much pain now. Moreover our daily contact with young men is helping to rejuvenate us.

Our camp has produced three sick people. One of them was operated at a hospital for appendicitis, but he is now well and has left the hospital. Another is still in a hospital because of lung trouble. The third who was sent to a hospital when he was stricken with asthma has now recovered completely and is back at the camp. The expenses involved in these cases are all being taken care of by the government, it is said."

Wardle wrote to Taylor of the BCSC on May 23rd, complaining about Dave Watanabe. His letter read:

"Dear Mr. Taylor,

Our Resident Engineer in charge of camps in the Schreiber-Jackfish area and his Chief Clerk have made a strong recommendation that one of the Japanese, namely, Dave Watanabe be immediately removed. They find that these camps will never settle down as long as Watanabe is there as he is a disturbing factor, has a lot to say, and continually keeps the men stirred up. You will recall that he is the man who suggested to the Honourable Mr. Mitchell that he head a committee to advise on the operation of camps and to give publicity on behalf of the Japanese to the people of Ontario.

Since that time it has been our opinion that Watanabe was the wrong type of man to have in these camps. As you know he has newspaper experience and has undoubted ability along these lines.

There are several by the name of Watanabe at the camps, some of them his brothers, but he is identified by the name 'Dave' and at present is at Camp 5-4." (46)

A. Sakanashi at Camp Black, S.W. 5-4, wrote to Mr. G. Sawayama c/o Willard Ranch, Westwold, BC, on May 26th, (Author's note: this was just two days before he would go to Glencoe with most of the Victoria contingent from Camp Black, including myself.) The Censor released the letter: *"The chief cook is a Polander and can he cook. He makes better pies than my sister --- we have lots of*

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fun. It seems like a summer holiday. The people in Schreiber are very sociable they are kind. The one consolation is that we are permitted to go to Schreiber and stay overnight, if the hotels are full we go to private homes to stay for the night. I have not stayed overnight but other boys that have stayed say that they are being well treated, so I have something to look forward to". (18)

(Author's note: I worked in the kitchen at Camp Black in the short time I was there, and the cook sure could make the pies; my favourite was blueberry. However, he had a terribly disgusting habit of clearing his nose with his fingers onto the kitchen floor and then wiping his hand and fingers on his apron! It turned me off on his cooking, but I could still eat the pies! Another incident I can remember is the little skunk who came to eat under the mess hall floor. We used to wipe the table crumbs onto the floor, then sweep the room up, lift up a short piece of floor board and sweep the crumbs onto the ground below. One morning, I lifted up the floor board and lo and behold, a little skunk looked back up at me. He (or she) had been eating the crumbs from the previous meal! I dropped the board quickly and thereafter, we were very careful when we lifted up the board.)

The Censor intercepted a letter written on June 1st, by T.O. at Camp S.W. 5-2, Jackfish to M.O. in Toronto. The Censor's "COMMENTS: *The writer alleges that the British Columbia Security Commission has tried deliberately to get the Canadian born Japanese from the Defense area on the West Coast to move to Ontario by telling them that here they are wanted in private industries, but as he says on page 3: 'we are wanted in industries around here as much as a skunk is wanted in a New York pent house.'* He calls Jackfish Camp a 'hell hole' and that what they have been reading in the New Canadian is all shit. He also claims that letters written from the camp previously and telling the true conditions never reach their destination. He believes that mail elsewhere in Canada than B.C. has less chance being censored and it is therefore that he is writing to the addressee and asks him to write to Kay and tell all these things so she can warn all her friends not to come to the East. The whole letter is coached (sic?) in rather critical and objectionable tone and is a definite exception

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from the ordinary run of these Japanese letters." (19) The letter was sent to the Department of Labour, and probably never reached Toronto.

"Bobby Jones" in Camp S.W. 5-5 in Schreiber wrote on the 8th of June to Miss K. N., c/o W.T. Jones Iron Springs, Alberta. The letter was released and the Censor's excerpts follow: "I've been living on crackers and prunes for the last month. The food is sure lousy, greasy and smells. Am skin and bones. Spud is just as bad ...

Sleep in bunkhouse with wooden beds, Hastings Park style, smelly blankets that haven't been washed in the last ten years, with a generous sprinkling of lice and other vermin. ...

Get up at four o'clock in the morning, wash and go to breakfast, just to keep up the morale, can't eat a thing, maybe if I'm really starved will try to eat two prunes and a cup of coffee with a couple of chocolate bars. You don't know what a lifesaver a bar could be, been living on them for weeks. Incidentally we walk about five or six miles to work, splash around in the water for a day, walk home in a daze, and go through the routine of sitting down and gazing at the appetizing food for pigs ... " (18)

This letter was referred to Smith, the Resident Engineer, who replied to Mills that at no time were the camp conditions as described by *"Bobby Jones"*. He wrote: *"The meals are exceptionally good and well varied. There are no wooden bunks in this camp. As for smelly blankets infested with lice and other vermin, if they were ever in this camp, they were the property of the Japanese concerned as we do not supply blankets to the Japanese. The rising bell rings at six forty A.M. with breakfast at seven A.M. and no man is expected to walk any great distance from camp to work as we have trucks which transport them to the scene of their work ... in my thirty odd years of experience in camps of various kinds the meals compare very favourably with the best and are much superior to the majority."* (18)

H.S. Smith had become the Resident Engineer in June, when A.M. Mills was called into the Armed Forces, and responded with the following letter to T.O.'s letter, as well as others written in June:

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"Schreiber, Ontario,
July 8, 1942.

Mr. T.S. Mills, Esq.,
Chief Engineer,
Engineering and Construction Service,
Department of Mines and Resources,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Dear Sir:

With reference to your letter of June 19, with respect of a letter of written by T.O. camp S.W. 5-2, Jackfish, Ontario. I have made an inspection of this camp and while it is possibly not as good a camp as the other three, it still cannot be classed as described by the writer. The meals are on a par with the other camps and in so far as working conditions are concerned they are very similar.

I of course have no knowledge of what the British Columbia Commission might have been telling the Japanese. A notice was posted some time ago to the effect that all mail in Canada was subject to censorship and that the Japanese could expect that their mail would be subject to censorship in common with any other resident of Canada.

*Yours faithfully,
(Sgd) H.S. Smith
Eng. in Charge,*

HSS/NV" (19)

Smith also wrote three other letters to Mills on the same day commenting on "Tosh's" letter to the effect that instructions had been given that lights must be out by 10 p.m. and that "any gambling that may exist is apparently no more than what might be expected in any bush or construction camp, an effort is being made to discourage this practice as much as possible". The next letter commented on the men staying overnight in Schreiber: "I am advised that there has been some instances in the past when Japanese have been allowed to leave Camp Black and when no means of transportation was available were permitted to stay in Schreiber until the following day. This occurrence I understand was on a Saturday night and the men returned to camp on

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Sunday." The last letter referred to "Bobby Jones" letter and has been covered above.

On June the 9th, Humphrey Mitchell, the Minister of Labour, reported to Justice Minister, Louis St. Laurent, that on May the 28th, there were:

188 Japanese in Ontario Camps

162 Japanese in Ontario Sugar Beet Camps

In his letter he also wrote: *"Canadian-born Japanese are objecting to going to Ontario because it means separation from their families. They say they would rather be interned"*. When Mitchell wrote that report, 297 Japanese had been sent to Internment Camps at Angler or Petawawa. (5)

T.V. Sandys-Wunsch, Assistant Commissioner, Commanding "D" Division in Winnipeg, wrote a report to Commissioner Wood on June the 22nd covering his visit to the Schreiber Camp on June the 2nd. Some of his comments follow: *"Although the general attitude of these Japanese is good there has already been a little trouble, 3 or 4 men were moved at the end of May and one man was placed under arrest for refusing to obey the orders of the camp engineer. ... it is understood this man is to be interned."* He seemed to be quite concerned about the change of the Angler Internment Camp to the incarceration of Japanese and commented: *" ... This would be a dangerous position if and when the construction of the highway approaches that place."* His first recommendation to the Commissioner as a result of this visit was: *"In view of the fact that adequate protection of the railway line is impossible it is recommended that all Japanese be removed from the highway. The present position is fraught with danger."* This report was similar in conclusion with Sergeant Woods' report on the Y-BR Highway Project, but in this case, the men were never removed from the vicinity of the railway, and when the population of the Camps dwindled, all the men were eventually located in the Schreiber Camp which was right beside the rail line.

Along with his report, Sandys-Wunsch included the following report made by S/Sgt. Renton after a visit to the Schreiber area

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Camps on June 20th. His four page report described the geographic conditions in the Schreiber Jackfish area as they related to the possibility of sabotage of the CPR. By this time a great number of the men had volunteered to work in the sugar beet fields of South-Western Ontario and there were only about 60 men left in the four camps. The Camp at Schreiber was right next to the rail line and was readily visible to passengers on the train. The Black Camp was back in the bush about four to eight miles, depending on who was reporting the mileage, and could not be seen from the railway. The Empress Camp was about two miles North-West of the Jackfish Camp, and could not be seen from the railway because of the terrain and the dense bush. The Jackfish Camp was fairly close to the railway and about one and a half miles from the town of Jackfish which the men visited using the railway right-of-way to get there, until warned by Renton that this was not permitted. However, the men continued to use the right-of-way once beyond the sight of the guards.

His comment on the possibility of sabotage in the area was also somewhat similar to those of Sgt. Woods with respect to the Yellowhead-Blue River area. Renton wrote "*The opportunities for sabotage if any of the Japanese were to be so inclined are many*". However, later in his report he commented "*On the whole the Japanese for whom we are responsible have behaved themselves when out of camp in an exemplary manner. There has been no complaints from local citizens regarding the actions of any of them. With very few exceptions they have regularly reported when leaving and returning to camp and several of them were anxious to enlist in the Armed Forces, but were not accepted. While the opportunity for sabotage has always been present so far nothing has come to hand that would make it appear that any sabotage has been contemplated, nevertheless as there are few long straight stretches of rail tracks between Schreiber and Jackfish and there are many culverts and bridges sabotage could be wrought with a good chance the saboteur would be undetected.*"

He ended his report with: "*If the section of railway between Schreiber and Jackfish can be considered a danger point in regard to sabotage it would appear that if the Japanese are allowed to*

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room at will without us being acquainted of their movements the whole province of Ontario and other points where Japanese have been located under work schemes, are equally in a similar position." (23)

Frank Nagano, a young man who worked as a Japanese Superintendent for one of the Schreiber camps, asked the BCSC in early July, for permission to relocate his family to Schreiber. Housing appeared to be a problem, and there is no indication, in the files, that he ever moved his family, but his request appears to be the first indicated desire of any of the men in the Schreiber area to relocate his family to Northern Ontario. (19)

Other men were eventually successful in obtaining jobs in Schreiber working for the CPR, the Town, and private businesses. S. Kobayakawa transferred to Rossport to work as an Engineer on a fishing boat on July the 17th, and K. Tateishi began operating a radio repair shop in the Town, on July the 22nd. He later was able to go to Toronto, and may have possibly been the "Art" Tateishi who began the very successful "Seabreeze" manufacturing operations there.

(Author's note: An item which caught my eye in the August correspondence, was the mention of "*K. Saito, a young man with arthritis in both shoulders*" which prevented him from working. I'm sure this was Kozo, who came from Victoria and lived very close to our home and with whom Stum and I played, as youngsters. According to the correspondence he was hospitalized in Port Arthur and then sent to High River or Raymond, Alberta, where his family had relocated. Many years later, I was saddened to learn that he had subsequently passed away; he was not that much older than we were.)

After the initial loss of 372 men in large groups to the Sugar Beet Camps in South-Western Ontario in late May and early June, beginning in July, and carrying through to the closure of the Schreiber Camp in June of 1944, the men began to leave singly and in small groups, to jobs in the various lumber mills and camps in the Lakehead and a few, to various locations in Southern

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Ontario and the occasional person as far east as Montreal. Schreiber was finally working as a clearing center for the East, although a number of men who went to the lumber operations were not suited for the work, and returned to the Camp several times. As fast as men left, others were coming in from the West. Some of the men who had spent the Summer and Fall in the Sugar Beet Camps returned in late October and early November. Those who did not return, had volunteered to go to work for the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company, in Kapuskasing, cutting pulpwood for the winter, Stum and myself included.

It appears that the young Japanese men were being accepted by some portion of the population of Schreiber. Smith reported to Mills on the 4th of August: "*Last evening, Civic Holiday, in Schreiber, the citizens of Schreiber staged a dance in the Town Hall. Several Japanese from Schreiber Camp, (S.W. 5-5) and Black Camp, (S.W. 5-4), who had been permitted to come into town for the evening, attended the dance and we are informed this morning that one white woman started dancing with one Japanese, with the result that the other Japanese present had no difficulty in obtaining dance partners.*

The better element among the citizens of Schreiber object to the Japanese being admitted to the dances and social functions, but there is another element who encourage the Japanese and fraternize with them and, our efforts in controlling the Japanese are being seriously handicapped in this vicinity by the activities of some 'well-meaning' church women, who apparently are more interested in extracting dollars from these men than assisting us. ..." (19)

When Mills received this letter from Smith, he sent it to Wardle along with a memo in which he suggested that the Japanese only be permitted to go into Schreiber in the case of emergencies. Wardle was in Prince Rupert, and J.A. Pounder, the Administrative Assistant in the Department, passed on the memo with a letter in which he expressed the opinion that Mills' suggestion was contrary to the policy adopted up to the present in the case of

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Canadian born Japanese. (19) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 5., for text)

The Censor reported an intercepted letter on August the 26th, from Tom, Schreiber SW 5-4, to J.F. Griffin Lake, 3 Valley, BC, which was dated August the 13th. The excerpt by the Censor was as follows: *"The boys up here don't take any shit from anybody. When anybody gets hell we do less work, or if they slap on any new regulations. Today everybody was loading gravel on a truck and while waiting for the truck to come back we played poker or five hundred and the straw boss told us it looks like hell so that we had to cut it out. We didn't load any more and waited for quitting time. Up here they don't call the Mountie like they do over where you are. Don't take any shit, Jackie, they won't do anything to you, maybe they'll transfer you to Slocan like the other boys from Solsqua. At least ask for another job under another boss".* (6)

This highway project was not immune to the problems caused by recalcitrant workers. Smith, referring back to the "Tom" letter extract wrote to Mills on the 14th of September and commented:

"... there has not been a recurrence of poker playing on the job. The statement re 'waiting for quitting time' is new to me, as I have never had a report of an occurrence of this nature. ...

I may say that some time ago I instructed the foreman that I would not tolerate any further breaches of discipline by Japanese or others.

At present we have one Japanese in detention as a result of his refusal to work under one of our sub-foreman, and we are not changing jobs for any Japanese just because he doesn't like the 'boss'." (6)

MacNamara sent a letter to Wardle on August the 27th, in which he wrote: *"Please note attached from the Censor enclosing a letter mailed by J. St. Jean, Camp SW 5-3, Jackfish, Ontario to Mr. A.H., Farm Service Force at Merlin, Ontario, enclosing a time book.*

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Just what authority this man has to send a time book, I cannot imagine. However, no doubt you will wish to check up on the matter right away. Please advise."

The intercepted letter from Johnny to A. was dated August the 12th, and read:

"Dear A.:- Received your letter okay a few days ago. Am sending the time book as requested, so be sure and return it to me as soon as possible.

This book as you know is our only record and I do not want to have it lost, so make sure of this.

We have drove into Schreiber and there has been a couple of cars came through also. Think that in a couple of weeks we will be able to drive east as far as Jackfish new yard which is only 1/4 mile out.

Have several of the boys back from Dalton, and there is some coming back from Empress tomorrow.

We certainly have a wonderful cook here now and the boys sure find the change since Henry left.

Well A. it is getting late and I am a little on the sleepy side as was out visiting last night.

I have no clerk since the first of the month but expect one any day now.

Please remember me to all the boys and I hope to have them all back again.

Hope this finds everyone in the pink". (6)

On August the 28th, H.S.Smith, the Engineer in Charge, wrote a handwritten letter (which was his usual practice) to T.S.Mills in Ottawa, reporting in part: *"... I mentioned hearing a rumor the other day to the effect that these camps were to be closed and moved to the vicinity of Lake Simcoe.*

Mr. Morrison advised me this evening that Mr. Pipher had informed him today, that a meeting would be held in Toronto on September 15th between the Hon. Mr. Hepburn, himself and one other party (name unknown) to determine just what would be done with the Japanese in these camps. Mr. Pipher was very strongly of

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the opinion that these camps would be closed shortly after September 15th.

Mr. Pipher, I understand has stated this to other parties around town, and I am passing this on to you, for what it is worth, and for your information.

*Yours very truly,
H.S.Smith." (6)*

Mills wrote a memo to Wardle on September the 12th, in which he referred to an earlier recommendation from Smith about closing Camp No.4 because of the reduced number of men in the camps. Mills agreed with Smith about the closure and wanted Wardle's approval for the action so Smith could be advised to go ahead. With the closing of camp No.4 Mills assumed that the services of foreman St. Jean would be dispensed with.

Mills returned St. Jean's censored letter and the time book to Wardle, and suggested that the time book be returned to Mills' office by the censor so it could be forwarded to Smith to complete his office records. (6)

On September the 22nd, Smith sent another handwritten letter to Mills as follows:

"Dear Sir,

With reference to your confidential letter regarding J.St.Jean and time books.

I would advise that Camp No.4 Jackfish was closed on Saturday. J.St.Jean is off the job and the balance of the white staff will be terminated on Sep't.24th, with the exception of the cook who is now employed at Camp 1, as extra cook.I felt it advisable to retain the cook in case of necessity.

With further reference to the time books I now find that a blue covered time book, which I thought at first was government issue, was supplied to the camps as a field time book and the information endorsed therein transferred to the official time sheet in the camp office.

The time books referred to are not official but only a convenience.

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I am not clear as to whether, in addition to the type of time sheet which accompanies the payroll, there is a government time book made up similarly to those in question.

If there is not, then, we will discontinue the use of any but the time sheet which supports the payroll.

Yours very truly,

H.S.Smith,

Engineer in Charge." (6)

Mills wrote to Smith late in October and pointed out to him that books supplied by the Dep't. were the only official time-books to be used by the time keepers. Therefore it was not necessary to purchase any other type of time-book and that every time keeper should be supplied with a book which was Departmental issue. (6)

On September the 14th, Smith wrote to Mills about a problem in the town between a truck owner by the name of A.G. Garrity a Schreiber merchant and Richard Ito. Garrity's truck had been used at Jackfish since April the 17th. Ito was its driver from May 15th to August 1st when he was injured. He went to Camp 1 to the hospital, where he was treated and then given a job at the camp. He was there in the camp on September the 14th.

Garrity and Ito had some kind of arrangement where Ito was to get extra pay over the camp rate of 30 cents per hour for truck driving for Garrity. When Ito tried to collect his back pay from Garrity it was refused and Ito presumably notified camp officials.

Ito claims he was paid extra in May and was trying to collect \$55.00 for June and July. (6)

On October the 19th, there was a suit for unpaid back wages started by Richard Ito, against Garrity, who had engaged Ito, under a verbal agreement, as a truck driver at 45 cents an hour. Ito claimed that he had driven a truck for Garrity for more than two months. He claimed that he had been short-changed the premium of 15 cents over the 30 cent rate paid in the road camp, which he had been promised. In addition to driving a truck, he was to receive an amount agreed upon for keeping the truck in repair. Ito represented himself in court. The basic issue was the question

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whether a Japanese evacuated from BC could legally enter into a wage contract. The case attracted attention in both the press and radio in Fort William and Port Arthur. After hearing both sides, the judge reserved judgement, but there was no record found in the archival material whether the judge found in favour of the complainant or the defendant. (19)

On October the 5th, Smith wrote to Mills about a problem of intoxication in the camp. The text of his letter follows:

"Dear Sir,

I wish to report the following which occurred today.

While going down the road today our service truck driver stopped me and reported that there was trouble at Camp No.2 and that I should look into it as soon as possible.

In company with Mr. Bee R.C.M.P. supervisor who was with me, an investigation was made and it was found that the foreman Yates, the Clerk, W.F. Stroud, the cook, P.Hamilton, and the R.C.M.P. constable, F.Cooper, were in various stages of intoxication.

Mr. Yates readily admitted that he had taken several drinks and that it had "knocked him out".

Further questioning that the liquor had been brought into camp by a truck driver, J.Caren, early Monday morning and that the drinking had started about 7:50 a.m.

The truck driver was immediately dismissed for bringing it in, and the R.C.M.P. constable was suspended and is being removed from the camp.

I have suspended further action in the case of the other three pending advice from you.

In Mr. Yates case, I may state that in over two years acquaintanship with him on various jobs this is the first time he has been guilty of a breach like this.

The other two Stroud and Hamilton are periodic drinkers but I have not before had trouble with them in camp. The cook and one of the Japanese had words at dinner time.

My first inclination naturally was to dismiss them all, but I thought I had better consult with you.

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May I please have from you what further action I should take?
Yours truly,

H.S.Smith." (6)

Mills replied to Smith's letter on the 21st and approved of his action in dismissing Caren. However, he instructed Smith that under the circumstances, Smith had no option but to release the other three men. The dismissal of the men could be dealt with as a consequence of the reorganization of staff due to the closing out of another camp. (6)

MacNamara wrote to Wardle on the 13th of October with the thought that the Schreiber-Jackfish Project should be reduced to one clearing camp with the number kept down to less than 100 men. The objective would be the placement of single men in commercial work as quickly as possible. By the 21st, Mills was confirming to Wardle that the number of Camps was now down to two, and that he was awaiting word from Wardle to close another camp. (19)

Graham Pipher was doing his best to place the Nisei in private placement around the Lakehead, and the Fort William-Times Journal reported his address to the Fort William Rotary Club on October the 16th under the heading: *"Japanese-Canadians Are Needed Here Says Pipher*

Mighty Canadian industries vital to the war effort, such as pulp and paper and allied trades, must not stand idle for want of labor when there are Japanese-Canadians not only available but anxious to work, Graham Pipher, a representative of the British Columbia Security Commission, said last night at the regular meeting of the Rotary Club, in the Royal Edward hotel.

Canada, he said, is 'hungry for labor' and Japanese-Canadians should be permitted to go to work to produce ships for international trade and homes for the war-worker.

...

In outlining the government's plans for providing labor for companies in Northwestern Ontario, Mr. Pipher said he was not

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interested in any particular company or any particular person. His job, he said, and he described it as the 'world's worst', was to provide as best he could the manpower for the most vital industries.

If any Japanese-Canadian participated in sabotage he should be interned or shot, said Mr. Pipher, but he proceeded to explain that this class of people was best-known of all the so-called alien races. And they had thus far proved they were not saboteurs, but loyal Canadians anxious to help in the war effort.

The Japanese, continued Mr. Pipher, must prove themselves better than Occidentals and prove that they are worthwhile of the trust the government proposes to place in them.

It would be better for Canada and better for the Japanese-Canadians to put them to work helping Canada's war effort. No longer could any question of racial prejudice hold sway in Canada because the nation's war effort demanded that all available labor should go to work. These people were natural-born British subjects and could not be regarded as alien labor.

When the war was over some way must be found to return a large number of Japanese to their homeland but where the Japanese were Canadian born they must be taken for what they were worth. 'I care not where his father was born so long as he himself is a man and is willing to help us,' said Mr. Pipher". (19)

On October 31st, the Fort William Daily Times Journal reported a debate in Fort William city council, which covered approximately 30 column inches, on the employment of Japanese by the district lumber industries:

" Council To See How Japs Kept Here

Employment of Japanese in Fort William district industries was discussed at some length at a special meeting of the city council last night when a delegation from the Fort William branch of the Canadian Legion was present, and three representatives of the district lumber industries expressed their views.

Council accepted the invitation to visit the plant of the Great Lakes Lumber company next Tuesday noon to see for themselves conditions under which the few Japanese employed there are kept.

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Post-war Removal

A resolution drawn up at the meeting, but not formally adopted, ... stated that 'we offer no objection to the employment of Canadian Japanese locally, provided the Dominion government gives assurance they are paid at the same rate given to other labor in similar occupation, this agreement to be good for the duration, and after the war the Dominion government to remove all Japanese from the district of Thunder Bay. ...

... The chairman stated that the purpose of the gathering was to look into a letter which had been sent council by the Fort William branch of the Canadian Legion. The letter expressed 'dismay and amazement' that Japanese were to be used in local industries and asked that 'a most serious investigation' be made into the use and proposed use of Japanese labor here.

Urges Segregation

President Robert Irving of the Legion branch here in opening the discussion stated that the Legion membership at a recent meeting had expressed great concern at the use of Japanese labor locally. It was felt that this would mean the lowering of the standard of living of local workers and that if once established here the Japanese would never leave. Mr. Irving said that he was not in favor of the government keeping the Japanese but that if they are put to work they should be paid the same wage rates as other labor. Mr. Irving agreed the Japanese should be put to work, but when brought here they should be placed in camps and be segregated, and these camps be looked after by the federal government. He felt it was a crime to have the Japanese free to roam at will through the city, for he felt 'a Jap was always a Jap', regardless of whether or not he was born in Canada, and all belonged to the Neisi.(sic)

Opposes Using Japs

Mr. Collins declared that bringing the Japanese here 'for the duration' would not work, for they would stay after the war. The same thing had happened in the diamond mines of South Africa and the Japs had stayed and flourished. ...

The timbermen's delegation comprised J.N. Swindon, W.E. Hunt and G. Soli. Mr. Swindon said that Ontario had only accepted

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Japanese on the condition that the federal government remove them from the province after the war. ...

'We've been asked to employ these men. We've taken them under compulsion,' said Mr. Swindon.

Canadian-Born

He (Alderman Batters) said the Japanese at the local mill were Canadian-born, and could not talk Japanese, and were fine fellows.

...

Ald. Garfield Anderson said that if the Japanese were a menace they should be interned, but if not a menace they could be employed here but only on the standard wage rate.

Ald. Cunningham objected to the Japanese being allowed to walk freely about the lakehead cities, especially when they passed industries that were being guarded from possible sabotage.

Ald. Booth said the Japanese could be placed in camps where there would be little room for sabotage.

...

D. Collins stressed that there was danger of the lakehead getting all of the proposed 2000 Japanese here.

Ald. Strachan felt that if it were known that the Japanese would have to move out of here after the war, they would not so readily come here.

Housed at Mill

Ald. Badani asked where the Japanese were housed, and he was informed at the lumber mill. Ald. Cunningham asked if they could come into town, and he was informed they could.

...

Ald. Carson stressed that Hon. C.D. Howe had said that Canada must have wood. The Japanese could be removed from here after the war, he said.

... " (19)

Pipher followed up the Council meeting and the concerns of the Legion, by writing a letter on November the 16th, to its President, Mr. Robert Irving. He wrote:

" Following our interview of some time ago, the thought occurred to me that you may want the exact policy of the Commission in the

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employing of Japanese in various areas. The policy of the B.C. Security Commission is as follows:

- 1. That the Japanese who go to employment be only Canadian born or British subjects with a clear record with the R.C.M.P.*
- 2. They would not be permitted to enter into employment where there was any great resentment towards their presence.*
- 3. They would not be permitted under any circumstances to work for less than the current rate of pay, preferably taking the union rate as the prevailing rate in all cases.*
- 4. They would not be permitted to mix or work with Occidentals without the consent of the Occidentals so employed. This would mean that if it was the wish of the Occidental workmen that the Japanese would be kept separate from the Occidental workmen.*
- 5. If the union in any particular class of work wishes the Japanese to join their union and be governed by the said union, we would permit them to do so at will, but they will remain under the jurisdiction of the B.C. Security Commission.*

For your information, I wish to point out a couple of facts which have been exaggerated upon from time to time.

- 1. There are approximately 23,500 Japanese in Canada, which means they represent .2% of the population of Canada.*
- 2. It has been the policy of the Commission to only allow Japanese who are Canadian born or British subjects to evacuate to the Province of Ontario.*
- 3. There has been a definite understanding between the Dominion Government and the Province of Ontario that all those of Japanese origin would be withdrawn from any municipality or province upon the wish of that province or municipality upon the cessation of hostilities, meaning that they would not be permitted to keep jobs to replace Occidentals when the war is over.*

Hoping that I have made the policy of the Commission and the position of the Government clear, I remain,

*Yours very truly,
Graham Pipher,*

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Ontario Representative,
B. C. SECURITY COMMISSION.

GP/JE

c.c. to Mayor C. M. Ross
Fort William, Ont." (47)

In all the time that the men had been in camp on any of the highway projects, there was no mention of any venereal diseases or sexually related incidents. However, on November the 1st, D.P. Byers, M.D., Schreiber, reported in a letter to Smith, that E.U. aged 22 had returned to the camp on November the 1st. The Japanese man had been treated since Aug.30 in the Chapleau hospital for syphilis. Byers wrote in part: "*Since this is the first venereal case we have had in these camps ...*" he asked for instructions "*as to their handling in the future*". The doctor stated that E.U.'s case was presumably cured, so he should not be a threat to the other men. (6)

Graham Pipher in his anxiousness to send the men out of the Schreiber Camp, to outside private employment, would not always keep the Resident Engineers informed of what he was doing. This, of course, annoyed them and Mills would hear about it. He, of course, would inform Wardle. On November the 17th, MacNamara wrote a letter to Wardle replying in part: "*I have your confidential letter of November the 13th, with regard to Mr.Pipher getting into the hair of men who are operating camps at Schreiber. ... I have been telling Pipher that we want as few in camp as possible and the more we get into commercial work the better. Your men will be anxious to make a showing and will have an interest in keeping a reasonable number of men in camp and at work.*"

You and I know that we would be quite content to close these camps if we did not feel that we need them as clearing stations.

Mr. Pipher is having some success in getting men into commercial work and I do not like to rap him on the knuckles too hard, but I will speak to him the first time I am talking to him on the phone, which will be in a couple of days." (6)

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On November the 27th, Mills wrote to Smith, advising him what MacNamara had said in his letter to Wardle about Pipher. (6)

There was some interesting correspondence concerning the problem of how to treat the men in the road camps when they refused to work. The two documents were not signed, or on departmental letterhead, but the origin must have been External Affairs, because of the subject matter.

Thirty-six men returned to Schreiber Camp in early November from the sugar beet camps, and were telling other Japanese that they could not be compelled to work, and this on the authority of the BCSC. The camp director segregated these 36 men from the others, and forbid them to communicate with the others. The problem was, that very day, the Department of External Affairs had told the Spanish Consul General that compulsory work was never required.

The camp refused to feed the men when they did not work. There was a concern that the men who were not fed were Japanese Nationals. The writer, initials SDS, told Wardle that: "*if no Japanese Nationals were involved we would not be concerned*". On November the 10th, the writer also wrote:

"NOTE FOR MR. RIVE

You may wish to suggest to Mr. Robertson (Under Secretary of State for External Affairs) that we should decide what we mean when we say that compulsory work is not required of Japanese either interned or uninterned. Those in charge of the Japanese in Schreiber think it means that they will not be compelled to work unless they wish to eat. In British Columbia it seems to mean that they will only be compelled to work if they wish to have housing for the winter. Mr. Schwartz and the Japanese Government profess to think it means that the Japanese will be fed, housed and clothed without requiring any work from them, and this view has rather been encouraged by our Department.

I think we should first make sure what the situation in Japan is. I then suggest that we adopt the policy that the Japanese will be compelled either to pay their own way from their savings, or to do

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any work required of them, which in our opinion is necessary to feed, clothe and house them; for this work they would be paid rates fixed by the Government. I suppose this means that if they refuse to work we must either intern them or put them on bare rations in their settlements." (6)

1943 - - - year two for the Schreiber-Jackfish Highway Project, and there were very few men in the two camps which were still open. On January the 6th, Camp #1 at Schreiber had only 21 men, and #2 Camp, Black, had 22. On the 18th, Smith received approval to close #2 Camp. On the 26th, Smith was commissioned into the Army Corps of Engineers and McDougall became his replacement. Camp #2 was closed on the 28th. (48)

There were men coming from the Western Interior Settlements as well as from the Road Camps in BC and men leaving from the Camp at Schreiber for work, primarily in the forestry industries of Northern Ontario, throughout every month of the year. However, a number of men were able to find placement in Southern Ontario in places like Beamsville, Blenheim, London, St. Thomas, Hamilton, Toronto, and Port Stanley. Some men were placed in Montreal. Once in centers of reasonable size, after a period of time, the men would move on to better employment if that was permitted under the Selective Service Act. Some men were placed in private work in Schreiber, working for the CPR, the Town, a local wood jobber, a saw mill, a coal dealer and one man for the Department of Highways. Some of the men just did not fit into the kind of work which was available and that created problems for the Camp Supervisors as happened in all the Road Camps. The Censor intercepted a letter written by G.B., who was working for the Nipigon Timber Company, which was written on the 6th of January to W.U. at Chapleau. The Censor's comments follow:

"POLITICAL

Complaint

Writing to his pal, the writer is giving vent to his rage for being at his present place and for which he blames Mr. G. Pipher, the

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British Columbia Security Commission Ontario representative, using vile and obscene words through his letter as will be noted from the following excerpts from the letter: 'This morning we reached this camp about 10:30 A.M. Boy what a (obscene word) place! Jesus if I ever see Pipher again it is going to be too bad. That good for nothing B.S.er anyway. He told us it's only four miles away from town to camp. But this is no (obscene word) four miles to me. Imagine 20 miles from the town of Nipigon..... Maybe by the time this letter reaches you I might be back at Schreiber. Yes, sir, I am not going to stick here any longer.' (36) The letter was released! This may have been because the letter was not sent to anyone at the Schreiber Camp which would create a bad image of the work situation at Nipigon for the men remaining there.

Another example of the misfit is exemplified by a letter written by McDougall on July the 21st, about U.A. #05025. McDougall's letter follows:

"This Japanese arrived at Schreiber June 16th, 1942, and was transferred to Pigeon Timber Company, Fort William, Oct.10th, 1942, returning to Schreiber January 19th, 1943. Released to C.P.R. Railway, White River, April 15th, 1943. Returned to Schreiber July 16th, 1943.

This Japanese is the worse type I have come in contact with. Had a certain amount of trouble with him last spring and practically forced him to take one of these outside jobs, to see if he could work something out for himself without turning him over to the R.C.M. Police.

Might say that he arrived in our office on the morning of July 16th from White River and informed me rather boastfully that he had fought with the Foreman and had left his job. After careful warning that he would have to change his ways; sent him out to the camp. After two days he reacted and after calling the Camp Foreman a lot of filthy names (absolutely uncalled for) marched into camp followed by four other Japanese, whom I have retained in this Camp purely on account of the fact, that I thought they were not fit to send to outside positions.

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Had the Constable at the Camp immediately put him in the Guard House and gave the other four the option of going immediately back to work or take the same treatment. Might say the little affair only lasted about ten minutes at the Camp. The others going back to work by the return truck to the Gravel Pit.

Sergeant Renton of the R.C.M. Police was here yesterday and thinks this Japanese should be taken out of circulation and interned. Must say I agree with him.

This method of handling these Japanese is a last resort, as far as I am concerned, but found it necessary in this case." (19)

On the 2nd of April, 1943, the first of the men from the Angler Internment Camp began to arrive at the Schreiber Camp. There was no indication of the number who chose to leave Angler then.

Sometime around the middle of April, 1943, my brother Stum, #09982, David K. Sugai, #11544, (whom I met 50 years later, in Hamilton, in the course of gathering material for this book), Tsugio Tanino, #07869, Mitsuo Sakauye, #12050, Joji "Baron" Watanabe, #09455, and myself, #09967, who had spent the winter of 1943, in the pulpwood camp, and the summer of 1942, in the sugar beet camps, arrived back in Schreiber from Kapuskasing. (49)

On May 1st, there were only 38 men, including the two Shimizu brothers, in the Camp. The same day, eight men including M. Sakauye left to work for Love's Mushroom Farm in Scarborough Junction in Toronto. On the 15th, David Sugai went to the Great Lakes Lumber Company in Fort William where he worked with Mr. Kadota and the Kadota brothers, George and Charley, who had gone there from Rosspport where they had finished building boats. On the 18th, another three men including T. Tanino left for Love's Mushroom Farm. On the 27th, McDougall advised the Fort William Office of the BCSC that "Yoshio Shimizu #09967 and Tsutomu Shimizu (#09982) were being released to 174 Spadina Ave., Toronto, with BCSC approval". He also advised Pipher "Sending Shimizu brothers East on tomorrow's train. ... " (49) (Author's note: coincidentally, it was one year to the day that my

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brother and I were finally free to make our own choices on where our lives were to go, within the constraints of the Orders-in-Council under which we were still bound. We were headed to Toronto to see George Ernest Trueman, who was the Placement Officer for Southern Ontario, where jobs were waiting for us, thanks to our two older brothers, Kunio and Susumu, aka "Sumo", who had been able to go to Toronto directly from the sugar beet camps.)

About this time, the Ontario Farm Service Force made another appeal for labour in the sugar beet fields of South-Western Ontario. After our baptism in the sugar beet fields in the previous year, and the messages sent back to BC and Schreiber about the back-breaking work involved, there was a very poor response from the men left in the road camp. Nine men did volunteer, and were sent to the Essex Camp near Windsor on June the 19th; this camp in Essex eventually held a total of 36 men and in 1944 the OFSF (Ontario Farm Service Force) were able to have a total of only 43 men in this kind of work when they were looking for 300 men or more in both years. (49)

With departure of the nine men, there were only 28 men left, of whom eight were working in Schreiber for the CPR. The authorities wanted to maintain a minimum of 40 men in camp, and what they were being left with, were the men who were difficult to place. (49)

This condition prompted McDougall to write to Pipher and Mills on September the 25th complaining about the conditions at Schreiber. Mills reported McDougall's complaint in a memo to Wardle and wrote in the last paragraph of his memo: "*It has of course been understood for some time that Schreiber was to be considered as a holding camp. It was the natural impression, however, that it was the intention that this camp would be a holding one for labourers. It would appear, however, from recent happenings, as well as the specific ones dealt within attachments to this memorandum, that it is rather becoming a dumping ground for Japanese, who, on account of physical disability or incorrigibility, are difficult to place on any labour work. This*

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would not be so bad in a large camp, where such class could be segregated, but in a small camp like Schreiber, the association of these undesirable men with the rest of the gang tends to create general dissatisfaction and difficulty for the Engineer in Charge to keep a smoothly running organization. The increasing number of such men at Schreiber also reduces the possibility of undertaking any useful work with the few remaining individuals who are willing to do even a fair amount of work". (46)

There were two forces acting at cross purposes in this matter of placement and operating a Manning Pool. The Engineers were charged with operating a reasonably efficient camp, while the Department of Labour was anxious to place the Japanese, in the camp, into private work. This conflict is illustrated in the letter which MacNamara wrote to Wardle on the 26th of August:

"Re: Schreiber Manning Pool

Mr. Pipher reports that some of the Japanese at the Schreiber Manning Pool claim they have been forced to remain at the Manning Pool when they had opportunities to work elsewhere, claiming that your officer in charge is holding them against their will. While Mr. Pipher discounts some of these claims, he feels there is sufficient substance in the complaint to have left the impression with the Japanese at Angler, as well as the pool, that there are difficulties in leaving the pool to take other employment, and that this is having an unfavourable reaction, in the transfer of the Japanese from Angler to the Manning Pool at Schreiber.

Mr. Pipher recommends that the clear cut understanding be arrived at that Japanese in the Manning Pool should be free to take other employment offered, which is approved of by Mr. Pipher, and that instead of holding Japanese concerned until replacements can be made, that Japanese be permitted to take employment without waiting for a replacement, but that he will take steps to obtain replacements from Angler for men thus leaving to take other employment.

I would like to see Mr. Pipher's recommendations put into effect, and would appreciate, if you would confirm this with Mr. McDougall so that there will be no misunderstanding on this point.

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

(SGD) A. MacNamara. (50)

McDougall responded to Mills concerning MacNamara's letter to Wardle on September the 1st: *"with a certain amount of amazement"* and stated, *"the situation ... is rather badly twisted to say the least"*. He attached to his letter a list of 30 names of the men with their status at that time. Of the 30, nine were working in Schreiber at 45 cents an hour and one at 50 cents driving a truck for the Department of Highways. (50) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 6., for complete text)

When Mills received McDougall's letter, he informed Wardle by memo, with a copy of McDougall's letter attached, that the situation was different than that which MacNamara had described. He also wrote: *"As you are aware, Mr. Pipher has been connected with Japanese operations at Schreiber practically since beginning of same. During this time we have had three engineers in charge, -first, Mr. Mills, then Mr. Smith and now Mr. McDougall. Information obtained from all these engineers has been to the same effect, - that Mr. Pipher, rather than being of assistance, has frequently by his actions and statements increased the normal difficulties encountered in the operation of a Japanese camp."*

It would appear that the present case is a concrete example where Mr. Pipher, possibly through personal unfamiliarity with the actual situation, has given the wrong impression of conditions to Mr. MacNamara. The difficulty which our engineers have experienced in getting what they consider proper co-operation from Mr. Pipher, might quite easily reach the point where Mr. McDougall would prefer to be relieved of his present responsibilities at this camp. As you are aware, Mr. McDougall is loaned to this Service by the Province, and as an indication of how unnecessary trouble in this camp might lead to further difficulties of the Department continuing same, a letter received under date of the 1st instant from Mr. A.E. Smith, Chief Engineer, Department of Highways, Toronto, is quoted:- 'Under date of November 21st last year I wrote you suggesting as the Schreiber camp had turned out to be mostly a pool camp and no work was being carried out on

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the road that Mr. Smith, who was then in charge of the camp, be transferred back to our Department as his services could be utilized to good advantage. In your reply dated December 10th you asked that the matter stand in abeyance and that the camp be allowed to continue under arrangements in effect at that time.

Recent reports received show that there are approximately thirty Japanese in the Schreiber camp and no road work of any nature is being carried out. As apparently our Engineer stationed at the camp is of no value to your Department, do you now think he could be withdrawn?"

Our understanding is that the Department wishes to continue the Schreiber camp, but under the circumstances I should be glad to be advised as to what reply should be made to Mr. Smith's letter as quoted above. (50)

McDougall followed up with a letter to Mills on September the 4th: "Asked one of these more intelligent Japanese to ask any of the ones who really wanted to go out from this Schreiber Camp to outside positions to let me know. The only reaction I have had to this morning, was one of these older Japanese asking for a raise in pay.

Noticed they were all laughing going out to work this morning, so I do not suppose there is any necessity of any appeasement measures at present as suggested by Mr. Pipher. As to how they will feel next week I have no way of telling, as they are very quick to take advantage of any adverse situation.

Found it necessary to send two more into Schreiber yesterday, to help pile lumber at the local sawmill. This man is paying them 50 cents per hour and giving them free transportation to and from the camp.

Find on making enquiries, that all the Japanese working in Schreiber, are required right up to freeze-up and most of them for an indefinite period if possible.

Most of these Japanese unfortunately are perpetual letter writers which I have always considered a kind of sickness. Half the time the letters are without any definite fact and 24 hours later have forgotten what they said". (6)

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

Some of the Security Commission authorities were not happy with the way Trueman, their Placement Officer, was operating in South-Western Ontario. His emphasis of working with the churches to place the Japanese in employment did not sit well with them. W.A. Eastwood, who was the General Manager of the Commission, wrote a letter on September the 7th, to George Collins, who was the Commissioner of Japanese Placement. In the last paragraph he wrote: " ... *It is my own opinion that a change should be made as soon as possible by replacing Trueman. I believe our best bet would be to put Pipher down in Toronto and leave Halloran (sic) at Port Arthur. To be quite frank, I do not feel too confident in Pipher, but I feel he is the best man available. He knows Ontario knows the Commission policy in respect to placements and he has spent considerable time over this past eighteen months in south-western Ontario on this placement work. He is very well known in government circles and around Toronto and I believe that he will get plenty of co-operation with Labour generally.*" (41)

Eastwood followed up with another letter on the 17th, to Collins, while Collins was in Manitoba. His letter read in part: "*I feel that the difficulty in accelerating placements to Ontario is not in our interior housings nor in the manner in which we are handling our placement programme in B.C., but rather is due to the inactivity of our Toronto office and possibly the Montreal office in providing suitable placements.*

As previously stated to you, I think we would be well advised to replace Trueman with somebody like Graham Pipher and work through industry rather than through the Churches. I am quite frank in stating that I feel we are on the wrong track when we try to use Trueman's technique to find openings for not only Japanese men, but Japanese women in Ontario and Quebec." (41)
(Author's note: I did not have very much to do with Trueman except to report periodically on how my job was coming along, but I found that he was a good sympathetic, Christian person who appeared to have the best interests of the Japanese at heart. This must not have gone over too well with his superiors.)

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There was a Conference held on September the 27th, in the office of Deputy Commissioner Mead, to discuss the arrangements to be followed when Japanese Internees were released from Angler and employed through the Schreiber Manning Pool.

Of 448 men at Angler, Collins had found that about 150 young men wished to get out to work. Collins suggested that the men be released in groups of ten or fifteen, escorted by the R.C.M.P. to Schreiber, given a few days there to adjust themselves before proceeding further. From Schreiber the men would then proceed to specific employment, with the requisite R.C.M.P. travel permits and travel warrants to their destination.

Stinson suggested that difficult cases, once placed in employment, be routed from one job directly to another where possible, rather than being sent back to Schreiber where they would stir up trouble among the other men.

Everyone present thought that the plan was worthy of trial, and that the harmless Japanese could be removed from the nationalist influence in Angler. The inception of the plan would be delayed until an investigation was made of the extent to which nationalist feelings had contaminated the young men, and also whether the dangerous and the harmless could be identified before release. (50) (see Appendix Chapter 6, 7., for complete text)

A.A. Dunphy, Superintendent of the CPR at Schreiber, wrote to McDougall on October the 4th, that he was sending a man by the name of S.A. back to the Schreiber Camp, as recommended by Pipher, because S.A. had created problems at Chapleau and now was refusing to work.

McDougall wrote to Mills on the 5th, and his letter in part follows: *"Enclosed please find copy of letter received from Mr. Dunphy ... We have been getting quite a number of this type in Schreiber Camp lately. It was necessary to put one of them in detention the other day, a few days after sending to outside work; the one we had been holding for some weeks. This latter one, I am driving to Nipigon today, to go North on another position. Should they cause*

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trouble at these new positions, it will be necessary to look after them more or less permanently at Schreiber Camp.

I suppose when you consider the number of Japanese who are now working in Ontario the percentage of this type is not very great, and this Schreiber Camp is probably the best place to look after them. Find they require a certain amount of authority, which they seem to understand.

Would like to suggest that any new arrangements being made. That the more centralized supervision that it is possible to have at Schreiber, would help greatly in handling this Japanese labor situation." (6)

On October the 15th of 1943, Pipher was retired from service and the direction of Japanese placement in North-Western Ontario was placed under the direction of F. Ernst, the Japanese Placement Officer in Winnipeg, with placement work in the North-Western Ontario area being handled by C.K. Halonen, headquartered in Fort William. There was no reason given for Pipher's retirement, but his inability to keep the Resident Engineers satisfied with his actions probably was the determining factor. (Author's note: my memories of Graham Pipher, who was a middle-aged, somewhat portly man, revolve around his talk to us about volunteering to work in the sugar beet camps, his appearance at the Glencoe sugar beet camp when some of the men refused to go out to work one day and the day he came to the bush camp in Kapuskasing to talk to us about jobs, after the wood cutting was done for the winter. On that last occasion, I remember the very attractive young woman who accompanied him to the camp, and me, being embarrassed about the yellow "pee-holes" in the snow along the pathway to our bunk-house, which the two of them had to pass, where the men used to urinate on their way back from the mess-hall after supper.)

MacNamara wrote to Wardle on December the 24th saying, in part: *" The application of compulsory transfer to these men has been suspended for the time being in order to permit them voluntarily to take essential work offered by the Selective Service and the British Columbia Security Commission either in British*

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Columbia, or in Eastern Canada. This applies to both the young men in the housing settlements and to those in the road camps.

If these youths who are physically fit do not voluntarily accept employment in essential industry within a short time, however, compulsory transfer will be applied again, probably first of all to those in the housing settlements." (51)

Not all the men left in the Schreiber Camp were indolent or incorrigible. Given the proper incentive, they were prepared to work hard. On the 28th of December, McDougall wrote to Collins and informed him that there were ten men cutting wood for a local wood jobber who was paying them \$4 a cord. Production was high and some of the men were even working on Sundays! He went on to say several of the men do not wish to leave the camp because they were now able to pay the \$20 per month dependents allowance and still have money left over for clothing and other necessities. (51) (Author's note: I remember reading in the files that there was a scarcity of wood for heating homes, because of the labour shortage, and the work of the men was greatly appreciated by the townspeople.)

1944 - - - the last year for the Schreiber Camp. As early as January the 27th McDougall complained to Renton at Fort William that the guards at the camp were circulating reports to the men and the townspeople, that the camp was being closed. At February 21st, only 23 men were left in the camp, and Wardle wrote to Pammet, in the Japanese Division of the Department of Labour, asking if it was possible to get the camp complement up to 40 men, for more efficient operations. On April 12th, a call for workers for the sugar beet fields was made again, and MacNamara suggested to Wardle that the camp be closed and the men transferred to the sugar beet camps. The May report indicated that 18 men were still in the camp, but it is not clear where these men were sent, except that on the 23rd, McDougall reported to Mills: "*Am very surprised to find they are objecting rather strenuously to going East ...* " The last men in the camp were sent East on the 27th. (51)

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The Schreiber Camp #1 was finally closed on May the 27th, 1944. However it was not until the 26th of July, when it was reported that: *"all Dominion Government equipment was removed from the Schreiber camps placed in three box cars and shipped to Mr. C.M. Walker FOB Banff, Alberta, on the 17th of July."* (51)

(Author's note: In the course of my research at the National Archives, I would occasionally find a Censor's letter about someone whom I knew. I would have it copied and then give it to the person. The following letter does not directly concern the Schreiber-Jackfish Camp activities, but does concern a man, Deo Suzuki, who was in Camp SW 5-3, the Schreiber Camp. Deo had gone to work in the sugar beet camp at Dresden, and then had stayed in South-Western Ontario to work on the farms. His brother "Buck" wrote to him on April the 30th, 1944, c/o Mr. Frank Smith, R.R. #1, Thamesville, Ont.)

The Censor's COMMENT and extract follows:

"POLITICAL

Writer complains about selling Japanese properties and the whole anti-Japanese attitude in British Columbia.

To brother:

'It's come, Deo. The custodian's sold our property. Dad's 4 pieces of land in Kennedy. The four pieces that Dad paid a thousand dollars of his hard earned money for \$93.00. Yep \$93. Dad was furious. Is still whenever he thinks of it. I hear they have sold Oikawas home in Sunbury. I hope like every thing they won't sell our home. If they do they'll probably sell it next to nothing. Sometimes I wonder if someone is getting a cut. There's something fishy somewhere. It makes me so boiling mad to think that Dad spent forty years to build that home (not that it's luxurious or anything) and living in it for only four months and now if they should sell it for next to nothing and we're helpless to do anything. The only thing is to write a letter of protest but what good will that do after they've sold everything. I often wonder

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what they expect us to do after the war. You ask if there are any anti-Jap. feeling in B.C. There are two kind of people. Ones that think of things and do things that are of advantages to themselves, not caring whom they hurt. One very popular cry among these people are deport all people of Japanese origin where they are Canadian born, naturalized or Japanese national. They treat everyone the same. Not because they think we are barbarious and uncivilized and a lot of other baloney but this is their chance to get rid of the Japs which will mean less competition and more jobs for themselves. But all the B.C. people aren't like them. There are others who stand and speak up for us. Not because they like the "Japs" or anything, but because they want to see justice done. But (word missing) all trouble-makers are they will stop at nothing to make themselves heard etc. If I see a piece in the paper I'll clip some items just so you can see how things are."

(The Suzuki home, which was insured for \$3,000. was sold by the Custodian for \$1931. Despite "Buck's" anger, when the Canadian Government finally and reluctantly, allowed the Japanese Canadians to enlist, he enlisted and went overseas to India with the first group of twelve Japanese Canadian men and served for 19 months.) (54)

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APPENDIX CHAPTER 6

1.Meeting March 30th, 1942, re: Japanese Work Camps.

1)Province will make habitable as quickly as possible camps for 1,000 men between Schreiber and White River. Each camp to accommodate 100 - 150 men.

2)When requests for Japanese labour received, these referred to Province and Department of Labour, Ottawa and both Provincial and Federal authorities have to approve the request.

3)Rail fares will be the responsibility of the firm asking for the labour.

4)Men will be free to return to the highway camp and free to refuse request for labour.

5)Men will be paid the prevailing wage rate for the class of work in the district.

6)Firm will have to look after D.A. and P.A. to be submitted to the Department of Labour in Vancouver.

7)Trans-Canada Highway project need not be supplemented by any new projects.

8)Wives and families of men sent to Ontario may not accompany them. "The Japanese sent to highway work camps or to work under private firms were not any worse off under these conditions than white workmen in any construction camp or member of the Canadian Overseas Forces who had left their homes on military service."

9)No religious representatives will be invited to visit the camps and hold services unless the Japanese ask for religious services in the camps.

10)Wood bunks will be supplied and palliasses filled with straw will be the mattresses. " Mr. Mitchell pointed out that the Japanese in their own mode of life were not used to spring beds or soft pillows."

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11)" Mr. Mitchell thought that in the case of the Japanese refusing to work in one of the work camps they would likely be interned." Private companies will have to agree to take the Japanese in lots of 100 or more. (43)

2.aDEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

TORONTO

April 1,
1942

Memorandum respecting proposed agreement between the
Dominion Government and the Province
of Ontario

To meet a national emergency and at the request of the Federal Government the Ontario Government agrees to take 3000 Japanese workmen and place them in highway construction camps already constructed, which camps belong to the Ontario Government.

The Province of Ontario agrees to supply the present camps and engineering services without cost to the Federal Government.

In the event of the Province of Ontario transferring any number of these workmen to other parts of the province the Federal Government will bear the expense of erecting new camps and transportation. The Federal Government will give adequate police protection and no one will be allowed to leave the camps nor will anyone be permitted to visit the camp without permission of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

The men employed will be paid a rate of wage as specified in a letter, dated March 24th from Honourable Humphrey Mitchell to Honourable Peter Heenan.

These camps will be considered as a clearing depot, so that in the event of any of these workmen being required on account of shortage of the usual type of labour in any industry to leave the camps and engage in other forms of work the private firm

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employing them will (unless otherwise arranged) pay transportation to and from the depot. These workmen must be paid the prevailing rate of wages for such work in the community or district.

In case it is desirable to establish new provincial projects a mutual agreement between the Federal and Provincial Governments will be made under terms and conditions to be agreed upon.

The Federal Government Agrees to remove these Japanese Labourers from the Province of Ontario at the conclusion of the war.

The Dominion Government agrees to furnish camp equipment, tools and other machinery necessary for the carrying on of provincial works.

The Federal Government guarantees that the Japanese will not become a charge on the province, any city or municipality, for relief or other social service charges. (44)

* * * *

2.b (Following is a copy of a letter of the British Columbia Security Commission.)

April 7th, 1942.

Officer Commanding
R.C.M.POLICE,

WINNPEG, MAN.
EDMONTON, ALTA
VANCOUVER, B.C.

Dear Sir: RE: EVACUATION OF JAPANESE FROM
PROTECTED AREA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

1. The British Columbia Security Commission is charged with the evacuation of all persons of Japanese race from the Protected area in British Columbia by Order-in-council # 1665, dated March 4th, 1942, copy of which is attached.

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2. Arrangements have been made by the Commission to send certain families to the Beet-growing areas in Alberta and Manitoba. Undertakings have been entered into with both Provinces that these people will not be allowed to become a public charge and that they will be removed from the Provinces at the termination of the War.

3. Families sent to Alberta and Manitoba are actually the wards of the Commission during the period of the War and the Commission is desirous of keeping a close check on their activities in their new homes, both for the purpose of allaying public opinion which, in some districts which have been hostile to them and to reassure the Japanese themselves that they will not be molested. Representatives of the Commission are located in Winnipeg and Lethbridge in the persons of Mr. C.E. Graham, 832 Grain Exchange, Winnipeg and Mr. William Andrews, Box 421, Lethbridge.

4. These people will be removed from the Protected area in family groups and will be escorted by a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and met by a member of the Commission at their destination.

5. The Japanese Registration number is the Police registration carried out under authority of Order-in-council P.C. 117.

Yours very truly,
(Sgd.)
Austin C. Taylor,
Chairman,
B.C. Security Commission

ACT/DR

Mr. C.E. Graham,
832 Grain Exchange,
WINNIPEG, MAN.

COPY - For your information.

Mr. William Andrews,
Metcalf Block,
Box 421,

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

LETHBRIDGE, ALTA.

COPY - For your information. (22)

3. (Following is a copy of a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources.)

Schreiber, April 15th., 1942.

Dear Sir,

Re: Employment of Japanese Labour,
Schreiber-White River.

A party of forty Japanese arrived here on Friday the tenth and were taken by truck to Camp S.W. 5-5. This camp now holds 174 Japanese, some of whom will be moved east to the Black Camp, S.W. 5-4, when made habitable which should be about the twenty second of this month.

The camp just west of Jackfish at Mileage 101 should be ready for occupation by Saturday next. This camp S.W. 5-3, will accommodate 150 men. The siding which was installed at Mileage 101 will serve this camp and also camp S.W. 5-2 at the old Empress mine about five miles west. It will be a case of walking the men into this camp as most of the tote road is impassable for trucks. Camp S.W. 5-2 will be habitable around the end of next week and will hold 150 men.

Camp S.W. 5-4, about three miles north of Black siding on the C.P.R. was slow in opening due to having to buck the snow all the way in from the rail. I expect to have a bulldozer by the end of the week and will open the road from Schreiber to this camp. This camp will also hold 150 men.

All camps, with the exception of the one just east of Schreiber, will have wooden bunks. I am purchasing mattresses through Mr. S.R. Welby, Purchasing Engineer for the Department of Highways in Toronto.

For water, it is my intention to erect a wooden stave tank, capacity 3000 gallons, on a trestle which will not be ample for washing and

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cooking but will hold a sufficient supply for fire protection. These tanks will be supplied by pumps from the nearby creeks. Mr. Welby is getting quotations on the above.

The health inspector for the Ontario Department of Health was in to-day and is very much concerned with the medical arrangements, especially regarding the doctor.

You will note from the above that we are in somewhat better shape to look after further shipments. I was talking to Mr. W.B. Hutcheson, District Engineer, Department of Highways in Toronto and he informs me that it will be in order to go ahead with the camps between Heron Bay and White River. The camps between here and Jackfish will look after some 600 Japanese while on the Heron Bay White River section, due to the condition of the camps about 1000 could be accommodated. Should I go ahead and put these camps in shape?

We received a small shipment of stationery and an order for six months supply will be forwarded to you shortly.

There have been a few men quitting but we have been just taking their addresses as we have no funds or cheques with which to pay them.

I am also holding quite a few invoices for the arrival of your purchase order form.

Yours truly,

A.M. Mills.

T.S. Mills, Esq.,
Chief Engineer,
Engineering and Construction Service,
Department of Mines and Resources,
Ottawa, Ontario. (19)

1 sp.

4. (Following is a copy of a "SECRET" letter of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

April 23rd, 1942.

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

Re: JAPANESE

1. On instructions of the Officer Commanding C.I.B., I proceeded to Schreiber on the 21st instant arriving there on the 22nd instant. At Schreiber I contacted Mr. Mills and with him proceeded to the Camp. There I had a long talk with Dave WATANABE.

2. The present trouble arose through the posting of the following notices on the Camp Notice Board.

NOTICE

(1) It was ordered by the previous orders of the British Columbia Security Commission that no person of the Japanese race shall

(a) Use, consume or have in his possession, any liquor;

(b) Fish in any way whatsoever in any inland or coastal waters in Canada;

(c) Hunt or trap any game whatsoever in Canada;

(2) Any worker feeling aggrieved or injured by any condition existing in the camp should immediately bring the facts and circumstances of his grievances to the attention of the Engineer in writing, for submission to the duly authorised agent of the British Columbia Security Commission.

(3) Any worker who wishes to transfer to some other locality or point outside of the Camp, must apply in writing to the British Columbia Security Commission through the Engineer, setting forth in detail the reason for his application.

(4) Workers are allowed to have long-wave radio sets in the Camp. No short-wave radios of any kind will be allowed.

* * * *

ORDERS AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE CONDUCT OF WORKERS IN HIGHWAY CAMPS

(Author's note: This was the same ORDER NO. 10 presented in Appendix, Chapter 3, 3., and so will not be repeated here, but

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these Orders and Regulations were signed by A.M. Mills not Austin C. Taylor.)

* * * *

You will note that A.M. Mills signed the foregoing Orders and Regulations Governing the Conduct of Workers in Highway Camps as follows: "A.M. Mills, for Chairman British Columbia Security Commission". Questioned as to why he had signed thus Mr. Wills stated that he felt the Notice should be signed and that he had done so. The manner in which Mr. Mills received those Orders is explained by the following letter which I quote:

(Following is a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources)

Ottawa,
April 17, 1942.

Dear Sir:-

Re: Japanese Nationals, Operations of Camps.

Enclosed herewith for your guidance is a copy of the regulations prepared by the British Columbia Security Commission covering the operation of work camps for Japanese Nationals.

Regarding cases of illness, any sick Japanese should be seen by the doctor on his regular visit to the camp. If in the opinion of the Engineer in charge, any Japanese is in such condition that any delay is inadvisable the doctor should be called immediately from town to the camp to see him.

It should be noted that in connection with section 2 of the Notice on Page 2 of the Regulations, a copy of any statement of grievance which may be submitted to the Engineer for transmission to the British Columbia Security Commission, should be forwarded at once to this office.

Kindly have all of your officers fully instructed regarding the foregoing.

Yours faithfully,

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

(Sgd.) T.S. Mills,
Chief Engineer.

* * * *

3. Dave WATANABE had established himself as spokesman for this Camp and he stated that numerous members had urged that immediate action be taken to restore their rights as Canadian citizens and that if they were to be restricted to the confines of the camp they might just as well be interned. He also stated that there were other minor matters which might merit consideration. I arranged to meet the group immediately after lunch to determine just what the actual condition was. Some 80 of the Japs stated that prior to volunteering to come to Ontario they had been assured by Mr. Austin Taylor that once there, no restrictions would be placed on their freedom. Here I might state that the area of this camp is small, absence of canteen etc., aggravates the situation. The Japs at this camp have found favour with the majority of the citizens of Schreiber. Many of them have attended churches there and their patronage of the local stores and places of amusement has so far met no adverse criticism, in fact, I talked with one railroad man today who advised me on being asked by his daughter about dancing with Japs he told her that as long as the Jap was sober and conducted himself properly he would sooner she dance with a Jap than with a Dago. However, I see a problem arising as undoubtedly there will be cases of too much intimacy between those young, well mannered and well conducted Japs and local girls.

4. A point raised was that of classing this type of individual as Enemy Alien and of the censoring of all mail addressed to them, also, there is a limited demand for men qualified for certain jobs by different jobs in the neighbourhood, such as boat building, and it is felt that facilities should be at hand to act quickly that such qualified Japs get the particular job so that once established, families might be reconstituted here.

5. Mr. Graham PIPHER, Ontario representative of the B.C. Security Commission, had arrived at the camp by this time. I

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conferred with him and Mr. Mills, Sergeant Renton of Fort William Detachment was present in response to a telegram from Mr. Pipher.

6. Due to the fact that the Japs undoubtedly were worked up to a condition where they contemplated quitting work at Noon on the 23rd inst., and that the Order which had led to their attitude was not signed by a competent authority, I suggested to Mr. Mills that he remove the Orders involved and in the meantime the local conditions would be reported by me in order that as full information as is possible may be to hand for the Commission's perusal. Mr. Mills then had the Orders removed and in the meantime I advised WATANABE that the Commission would be informed in order that the necessary determination be made further herein.

7. In respect to Tak SHIKATANI, I am informed that he sent word to WATANABE that neither he nor any of his camp wanted anything to do with WATANABE as they could look after their own camp.

8. While there is no doubt that this whole business was fomented by WATANABE, he now has considerable support from the younger Japs who have frequented Schreiber in search of Ice Cream, chocolate bars etc. The fact that a permit is required to leave camp is resented as the Japs feel that such a condition could only exist through doubt as to their loyalty.

9. In respect to the telegram sent by WATANABE. Six men conferred on the wording, these were KAMO, Frank NAGANO, KONDO, NISHI, and T. NISHIGIMA. KAMO and WATANABE went to Schreiber and sent the first telegram. Then they thought they would have to wait several days for an answer so the second telegram was sent. WATANABE and KAMO were responsible for the second wire.

10. Unfortunately we had not received copies of the Orders and Regulations covering the conduct of workers in Highway Camps and although I received copies from Mr. A.M. Mills I noticed there was no date mentioned nor signature of anyone and I considered that possibly this was only a draft of proposed regulations.

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However, the copies posted at the Camps were signed by A.M. Mills who was not a representative of the Commission and he, on my explaining the situation to him, removed the notices which, under the circumstances, had no legal effect. Up to the time of posting of the said notices, conditions, I am informed, had been good but since Monday, the day on which the notices were posted, feeling of resentment had prevailed among the Japs who were slowing down their work and contemplated ceasing work entirely at Noon on April 23rd. It occurs to me that with the absence of Orders restricting the free movement etc., of Japs on Sugar Beet projects and in other industries etc., the situation at Road Camps will become accentuated as naturally those affected will feel the discrimination.

11.I conferred with Mr. Pipher and a brief telegram was sent to Assistant Commissioner Mead briefly outlining the situation. This wire reads as follows:

Japs object to Regulation (1) Governing conduct of workers in Highway Camps -- 80 state they were promised complete freedom by Mr. Taylor if they come to Ontario -- Local conditions favor varying of Regulation (1) here-- Pending decision work continues -- Staff Sergeant Renton reporting fully on arrival in Winnipeg

(Sgd.) Graham Pipher. Ends.

I returned to Winnipeg on the 23rd, Mr. Pipher remained at Schreiber and is taking up residence at the Camp as Ontario representative of the British Columbia Security Commission.

12.I would ask that we be furnished with copies of all Orders and Regulations made by the British Columbia Security Commission in order that we be kept fully posted as to the law made in respect to the Japanese. In respect to the copies of purported Regulations I obtained from Mr. Mills and with a knowledge of legal conditions, sub-paragraph (1) which reads: "No worker shall proceed beyond the boundaries of any Highway Camp, as defined by the Engineer of the Camp, except under permit from the British Columbia Security Commission or from a person duly authorized by the Commission to issue such permits," seems to me the cause of the dissension. I would also respectfully suggest that any Regulation

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made be as brief as possible and where other law covers a certain subject no new Regulation should be enacted. Sub-paragraphs 2, and 3 would appear to be covered by other enactments. In the embodied Notice which is purported to be a copy of previous Orders by the Commission, some abatement might be considered where local conditions warrant.

13. It appears to me that too stringent Regulations at this time will cause an unfavourable condition and may result in abandonment of co-operation by the Japanese and in view of the fact that up to date they have been well behaved, I would like to suggest that policies and regulations be determined by developing conditions and effective control maintained as contingencies develop through having the machinery established whereby such regulations as may be felt necessary in the area affected can be speedily enacted to meet any changing conditions. With a representative of the Commission immediately available it is felt that any necessary action or recommendation can be speedily expedited at this end.

14. I would state that whereas Dave WATANABE is the instigator of the present opposition, he now has a whole-hearted support of the members of the Camp and I think that in due course he will be moved elsewhere, nevertheless, the present condition remains. I would also suggest that any Regulations made should be above the signature of a member of the British Columbia Security Commission or of the representative thereof locally affected.

(G.A. Renton) S/Sgt.
i/c Intelligence Section.

* * * *

The Chairman,
British Columbia Security Commission,
1130 Marine Building,
Vancouver, B.C. Attention Asst. Comm. Mead.

FORWARDED 23-4-42 for your information. As stated in the report, we here are without official knowledge of such Regulations as may have been promulgated by the Commission in respect to

THE SCHREIBER-JACKFISH HIGHWAY PROJECT

the government of Japanese within Road Camps. However, an anomalous situation would occur should there be undue restrictions imposed on Japs employed on road work and no restrictions imposed on Japs engaged in private enterprises possibly in the vicinity of such camps.

2.It is apparent that the condition was developed by Dave WATANABE but it now seems he has full support of the Japs stationed with him at the Schreiber Camp. The condition at Jackfish Camp seemingly is good and I would point out that there is a beer parlor at Jackfish which might have tended to make the situation there more acute than would occur at the Schreiber Camp where there is no beer parlor.

3,Respecting the censorship of mail, I am disposed to suggest that mail addressed to members at the Camp and from them to their relatives within Canada could not obtain information of such value to the enemy nor would there be much opportunity of such information as might be contained in the letters being sent to the enemy from Canada. It might be that mail from the camp or from Japanese residents in British Columbia should be strictly censored when it is to outside points of Canada.

4.I would ask that all copies of Orders made in respect to the government of Japanese be immediately forwarded here on promulgation. However, I would suggest that fullest consideration be given to local conditions before any orders are promulgated. This with a view of allowing the Japs in Camps the fullest possible freedom consistent with safety.

5.It will be noted that Mr. A.M. Mills in signing for the Chairman of the British Columbia Security Commission the Orders in question did so without authority. Consequently such Orders might be stated to have no legal status. You will note that some 80 of the Japs involved stated that they were promised full freedom if they volunteered and went to Ontario and that actually the restriction on their freedom of movement is the cause of the present condition. The Order signed by Mr. Mills which created this condition has been removed by Mr. Mills and the condition at the Camp has been restored. However, a decision has to be made and apparently there is no reason why the Japs at Schreiber should

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not be permitted to visit Schreiber particularly in view of the local sentiment. You will note that the intention of the Japs at Schreiber was to cease work at Noon on the 23rd inst., however, with the removal of the Order in question work will be continued pending further consideration by the Commission. As I know of no restrictions imposed on Japs employed on Sugar Beet projects and in private industries etc., I would suggest that our policy should be one of maintaining close contact with developing conditions acting quickly where necessary to obtain Orders to meet any contingency which might develop. I would also recommend that any Orders made bear a signature of the Chairman of the Commission and that they be posted at each Camp.

6. In respect to Dave WATANABE, it would appear to me that should he be moved he would cause trouble elsewhere unless located in a carefully chosen position where he would only be associated with a few level headed individuals.

GAR/B
O.C. "E" Division,
R.C.M. Police, Vancouver, B.C.
P. H. Tucker, Supt.,
i/c C. I. B.

FORWARDED 23-4-42 for your information.

GAR/B
P. H. Tucker, Supt.,
i/c C. I. B.

THE COMMISSIONER,
R. C. M. Police,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

FORWARDED 23-4-42 for your information please.

GAR/B
P. H. Tucker, Supt.,
i/c C. I. B. (14)

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5. (Following is a copy of a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources.)

Office of the
Director

Ottawa, Ontario,
August 11, 1942.

Dear Mr. Wardle:

Enclosed for your information is a copy of a memorandum from Mr. Mills, dated August 7, relative to Japanese in camps in the vicinity of Schreiber being permitted to visit that town, which is self-explanatory.

It will be noted that it is suggested that Japanese should be given permits to go into Schreiber only in cases of emergency.

In this connection you will probably recall that on April 23 last, you asked Mr. MacNamara if Order No. 10 of the British Columbia Security Commission applied equally to Canadian born Japanese as well as to Japanese Nationals, pointing out that while the wording of that Order quite clearly covered both classes, nevertheless it appeared that Camp Regulation No. 1 had been waived in so far as the Canadian born Japanese in Ontario Camps were concerned. I cannot find that Mr. MacNamara ever definitely advised on that point.

Also on April 30 you advised the Deputy Minister that the Canadian born Japanese at Schreiber had taken exception to Clause 1, Order No. 10, in regard to camp boundaries, and said they had been assured by Mr. Austin C. Taylor that there would be no restrictions on their movements after working hours. Consequently it was believed that this clause might be waived as far as Canadian born Japanese are concerned.

Even Regulation No. 12 as amended, which was drafted by our Branch and was approved by the British Columbia Security Commission on July 10, but which apparently applied only to the Yellowhead-Blue River project, contemplates ten men being

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granted leave of absence from their camps for one of two days at a time.

From the foregoing and from the letter of Commissioner Mead to Mr. Walker dated April 23, copy of which is enclosed, it would appear that, apart altogether from the merits of the question, the policy of restricting Japanese to their camps except in the case of emergency, as Mr. Mills' memorandum suggests, is contrary to the policy adopted up to the present by the British Columbia Security Commission and whether they will see fit to alter that policy to what Mr. Mills now proposes, can only be surmised.

This matter is being submitted to you as it is thought you may be discussing Japanese questions generally with the British Columbia Security Commission and could learn their views on it.

Yours sincerely,

J.A. Pounder. (19)

6. (Following is a copy of a letter of the Department of Mines and Resources.

Schreiber, Ontario
September 1, 1943.

Mr. T.S. Mills,
Chief Engineer,
Engineering and Construction Service,
Department of Mines and Resources,
OTTAWA, Ontario.

Re: Schreiber Manning Pool

Have read with a certain amount of amazement Mr. MacNamara's letter to Mr. Wardle. Must say the situation, as regards this Schreiber Camp as presented by Mr. Pipher, is rather badly twisted to say the least. Might say immediately on receipt of this letter I called Mr. Pipher on the telephone, and suggested that he make a trip down here; as his arrival was apparently to be delayed, am

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forwarding this list of Japanese at present attached to this Schreiber Camp. This I think should give a fairly clear picture of the situation to start with.

Several of these Japanese, who were originally working for the Canadian Pacific Railway and thought the work was going to be finished in July, spoke to me about going to outside positions when I told them that anytime the Railroad Job was finished the Town of Schreiber wanted to take them at the same rate and under the same conditions, they were quite agreeable. They mentioned the fact to me, that the Japanese from Angler were going direct to these outside jobs and getting the preference. As you will remember early last spring, we suggested, that this Japanese labor could be released through the Schreiber Camp, and go from here to these outside positions and I am still of the opinion that this was the proper way of handling this Japanese labor situation. The only one we have received from the Angler is B.O. #09968, who was released from the Angler camp to work for Spadoni Bros., in Schreiber, he left this position after a few days, and arrived at the camp and has since been spending most of his time interviewing Doctors as to his health.

When I think of the time Constable Bee and myself spent trying to persuade these Japanese men to take on these outside positions after Mr. Pipher had left without much success, the present situation as pictured by Mr. Pipher, is rather hard to understand.

These Japanese we have at present at the camp, are not capable of taking over this work in Town. Should any of these Japanese be allowed to leave and as the work they are engaged in is most essential, am pretty sure it will cause a very bad reaction. Especially as they are being paid good wages, and under present conditions getting cheap board.

A.R.McDougall
Eng. in Charge

ARMcD/NV (50)

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7.(COPY)

Copy for information
of Mr. Mills
30/9/43.J.A.P.

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

Conference in office of Deputy Commissioner Mead, Monday afternoon, September 27, 1943.

Subject - Release of Japanese Internees from Angler and Placement in Employment Through Schreiber Manning Pool.

Present - Deputy Commissioner Mead and Inspector Saul, R.C.M.P.

Capt. Jamieson, Internment Operations, National Defence.

Messrs. Pounder and Stinson, Mines and Resources.

Commissioner George Collins, B.C. Security Commission.

Messrs. Brown and Pammett, Department of Labour.

* * * *

There are now four hundred and forty-eight (448) men interned at Angler, of whom Mr. Collins finds about one hundred and fifty (150) young men wish to get out to work. Inspector Saul expressed the view that of the remainder a certain number could also be released for certain types of employment, men who were not definitely subversive in intention.

It was agreed that released internees should not be permitted to work on main railway lines, and that men ordered out to work had best be employed in remote bush camps where there would be little chance of committing sabotage.

The plan outlined by Mr. Collins suggested that men be released in groups of ten or fifteen and directed to Schreiber Manning Pool, with R.C.M.P. escort, where they would have a few days to adjust themselves before proceeding.

At Schreiber the men would be given Selective Service permits to specific employment, plus R.C.M.P. travel permits and travel warrants to destination. Any man who refused to proceed as instructed could be prosecuted under Selective Service Civilian

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Regulations and imprisoned or fined. It was felt that a few such cases would be sufficient to impress the necessity of obeying regulations.

Commissioner Mead agreed that an R.C.M.P. detachment be set up at Schreiber to control movement of Japanese in and out of the Manning Pool, and to prosecute any Japanese disobeying the Travel Order.

Mr. Collins suggested, and the Mines and Resources representatives agreed, that Mr. MacDougall, the engineer in charge of Schreiber camp, be authorized to place men from Schreiber in suitable employment, in co-operation with Mr. Halonen, B.C. Security Commission Placement Officer at Fort William. It was not decided whether Selective Service Regulations should be enforced from the Port Arthur Office or by deputing Mr. MacDougall as a Selective Service Officer for this purpose.

Mr. Stinson asked that difficult cases, once placed in employment, be routed from one job directly to another where possible, rather than being sent back to Schreiber where they would stir up trouble among the other men.

Captain Jamieson stated that Internment Operations would issue instructions to the Camp Commandant to release the men in groups as designated by Mr. Halonen, provided that the Commandant had an Order for release covering each man. The R.C.M.P. officials stated that they would recommend to the Minister of Justice that Orders of Release be issued without the provision that the men had agreed to take certain specific employment, this to cover all men whom the R.C.M.P. considered should be released under this scheme.

Mr. Halonen, under the direction of the B.C. Security Commission Representative at Winnipeg, will have general supervision of Japanese employed in Northern Ontario, and will co-operate with Mr. MacDougall in placement of Japanese. Job opportunities in Southern Ontario will be referred to Mr. Halonen who will consult Mr. MacDougall to see if there is anyone available and qualified.

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Also, Japanese coming from B.C. will be routed to suitable employment in Northern Ontario by Mr. Halonen.

All present at the conference agreed that this plan was worthy of trial, and by it the harmless Japanese could be removed from the nationalist influence in Angler, and thus re-established in self-supporting employment which would help the war effort.

Commissioner Mead thought that the plan had possibilities, but asked that its inception be delayed until Inspector Saul had made a trip to Angler to investigate the extent to which nationalist feeling had contaminated the young men, and whether we could distinguish the dangerous from the harmless before release.

H. T. Pammett. (50)

CHAPTER 7

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

April 1st, 1949, was the day when the cruel winds of war finally stopped blowing on the lives of the Japanese who chose to remain in Canada; the land of the future for themselves and their descendants. This was the day when the last of the wartime¹ restrictions were finally removed, from the Japanese in Canada. We were truly FREE CANADIANS, at last!

Except for the Acadians in 1755, no other minority group in the country which was to become Canada, experienced the humiliation, indignity, suffering, and despair to which the Japanese were subjected in 1942 in the process of exile from the "*Protected Area*". All this was the culmination of racial prejudices, engendered by economic and racial purity fears in the 1800s, when the first Asian immigrants began to appear on the lower mainland of BC.

The white population, especially the labouring class, was fearful of the loss of livelihood to the poorer paid immigrants and the rest of the white population could not see how these new immigrants with a different skin colour, language and culture, could ever be assimilated into their own culture. The politicians, of course, were eager to pander to these fears, and produced a public forum in which to foment these fears.

The Orientals could not win; the employers would pay as little as they could and then the white population would point to the abject living conditions which the pay level afforded, as the reason for the ability of the Orientals to undercut the white pay level.

When they were able to establish themselves in an occupation which would enable them to have less economic oppression from the white population, the politicians would try to find ways to bar the door. The Orientals had no political clout! The right to vote was effectively denied them in BC in the early 1900s, and this led to other exclusions such as the right to vote in the Dominion elections, the right to work on Crown lands, and the exclusion from certain professions.

Despite all the hardships the Issei faced, they persevered and worked hard to establish themselves and their families in their chosen land. With the forced exile of 1942 from the Pacific

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Coastal area which had been home to them; the forced loss of homes, property and possessions; and finally the pressure on those remaining in BC to exile themselves again to some unfamiliar Eastern location or choose deportation to Japan, the stresses on the Japanese were unimaginable. Without the inherent qualities of the hardy stock which had immigrated to this foreign country from Japan, and the values they imparted to their children, it is easy to imagine that the whole experience could have reduced the Japanese in Canada to a self-pitying, servile lot. Instead, despite what the Government did to them in their chosen land, they arose from the ashes of their ignominious experiences and by virtue of their racial characteristics, values, hard work, and dedication to regaining and improving their lot in life, they became respected and valuable contributors to Canadian society.

As the editorial in "The New Canadian" of April 3rd, 1943, stated: " ... *In the past, descriptives, such as law-abiding, industrious, courteous have been applied to us and we have been rightly proud of them. But, they are of no value now, unless we in our work and play, wherever we may be, exemplify to the people, who, if they are a little strange to us, we are doubly strange to them, that we believe in law and order, in hard work and friendship and that ... we can go out to the people of Canada to show what stuff we are made of, what kind of people we are, what our characters are like. ... with faith in ourselves, surely then, the future will take care of itself.*" This legacy then, is the treasure which the "Exiles" have passed on to their descendants!

The manifestations of the values which were passed on to the Nisei and especially their children, can be seen in **Audrey Kobayashi's** 1989 report, "**A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF JAPANESE CANADIANS** and *Social Implications for the Future*"; extracts of which follow:

"4.5 Education Levels of Japanese Canadians

Japanese Canadians, on average are among the most highly educated of all groups in Canada. Table 4.9 shows that close to half of Japanese Canadians under age 45 have some university education, and about one quarter hold university degrees. The

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comparative figures for Canadians as a whole are about one fifth having some university education, and about 10 per cent holding a university degree. ... (Author's note: I remember my mother saying to me: " You live in a white man's country, and if you want to succeed in this country, you must get an education and be better than the white man.")

4.8 Income

According to Table 4.15, the average Japanese-Canadian household had an annual income in 1985 of \$50,591. 28 per cent higher than the average for all Canadian households. About 25 per cent of Japanese-Canadian households are in the \$60,000+ income bracket. ... "

The intent of this final chapter is to present a "whatever happened to" picture of a few of those people about whom you have read in the preceding chapters of this book, to illustrate what they managed to do with their lives in spite of having to start all over again. Many of the Issei mentioned have passed on, Nisei have been difficult to contact and many prefer to forget their ordeal. The men who are profiled in the following pages are ones whom I knew or was fortunate enough to be able to meet in the course of gathering material for this history and who were kind enough to provide me with material in order to fashion the biographies which you will read.

* * * *

GEORGE WATARU FUNAMOTO

George Funamoto was born in Kamloops, BC, on September the 20th, 1923, the first son of Shoichi Funamoto and Mitsuyo Kinoshita, both from Miyano, Hiura-mura, Hiroshima-ken, Japan, where they were married in September of 1919. They emigrated to Canada and Kamloops in December of that year where they opened the Kamloops Fish Market in partnership with a Mr. Fujita. The family later moved to Vancouver where Shoichi worked as an oiler with the Union Steamship Lines.

George received his education at the Lord Strathcona Elementary School and the Grandview High School of Commerce

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from which he graduated in 1941. He also received Japanese language education from 1929 to 1941. When he finally arrived in Hamilton, he took extension courses in accounting and business.

George was exiled on July 1, 1942, to the Fitzwilliam Road Camp and on July the 20th, he moved to the Rainbow Road Camp both on the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway Project. On August the 7th, he was moved to Camp #2 on the Hope-Princeton Highway Project, and when the authorities learned that he had commercial training, he was offered a transfer to the office at Camp #1, both camps were at the Princeton end of the Project. He left the Princeton Camp in late September of 1944, to work with the CPR Section at Haig, BC. In September of 1945, he joined his parents at Tashme.

In June of 1946, he and Roy Honda left for a job offer in a London, Ontario, tannery, which had disappeared when they arrived, but they heard of a job in Hamilton so they went there. George went to a building products company and worked as a shipper, then moved to Kent Tile and Marble as a terrazo layer, went to a sales distribution company as an Office Manager, and finally as an accountant /credit manager, with a Hot Water Tank and Steel Shipping Container manufacturing company, all in Hamilton. He retired in November of 1985.

George married the former Fumiyo Theresa Okawa from North Vancouver, on June the 28th, 1952. They have three daughters, Joyce Anne who has a Master's degree in French from McMaster University in Hamilton and now works as a Freelance Editor in Toronto. A second daughter Jayne Mary, who is married, has an Optometry degree from the University of Waterloo, and practises in Hamilton. The third daughter, Janet Joan April, has an Electrical Engineering degree from McMaster and is a custom design engineer with a transformer manufacturing company in Scarborough, Ontario.

George and Theresa enjoy their only grandson and George also enjoys golfing, fishing and travelling. He does volunteer work at the Japanese Cultural Centre in Hamilton and is an Honorary Life Member of the Hamilton Chapter of the Canadian Credit Institute.

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(Author's note: I was fortunate in getting to know George, because I did not know him before meeting him at Victor Kadonaga's home on May the 7th, of 1993. His contribution to the Hope-Princeton chapter is invaluable as a survivor's recollection of those years in exile. He was also instrumental in providing maps of the Hope-Princeton and Revelstoke-Sicamous areas and the location of the camps at the Princeton end of the highway. He also helped with some of the Japanese translations.)

* * * *

KENJI ISHII

(1895 - 1971)

Kenji Ishii was the fifth son of a poor peasant family, who farmed near Onomichi, Hiroshima. After compulsory education and apprenticing as a carpenter, he came to Canada to join his father, Chokichi, and they worked together for several years until his father returned to Japan.

Kenji went to Japan in 1922 to marry Misayo Takata, an adventurous, well-educated daughter of a leading family from a neighbouring village. They returned to Canada about a year later and settled in Abbotsford where their first son was born. Two more sons and a daughter were born after they moved to Vancouver. In Vancouver, he worked primarily as a carpenter with another Hiroshima emigre, and they participated in the building of the Hompa Buddhist Church in the mid-thirties.

In March of 1942, Kenji was exiled to the Thunder River Camp on the Yellowhead-Blue River Highway Project. In May of 1942, he was able to return to Vancouver through the intervention of his wife who went to someone or some organization on Powell Street and insisted that he would be useful in the building of and in the repairs and renovations to housing required in the ghost-towns, in the Slovan Valley. He also helped to construct the high school there, as well as recreational equipment for the Buddhist Church.

In 1946 the family went to the former German POW camp at Neys, while the two oldest sons who were 22 and 20 went to Hamilton. The family relocated to Hamilton in September of 1946 but Kenji was never able to resume his trade of carpentry, because

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of his difficulty with the English language and his aging eyesight. He worked as a dish-washer in a restaurant, later in a cannery, and finally as a gardener, to put his daughter and second son through university, and the youngest son through the Ryerson Institute of Technology. The daughter obtained her MSc. in Chemistry and worked at the National Research Council in Ottawa. The second son earned an MA and became a meteorologist with the Federal Department of Transport, while the youngest is a Chemist.

In Lemon Creek, Kenji served in the PTA at the primary and high school levels. In Hamilton in his retirement years, he was active in the local Buddhist church and renovated the kitchen of the newly purchased church hall. In 1971, Hamilton's 125th Anniversary, he suggested the theme for the Japanese community float; a bridge between Japan and Canada. He built a curved wooden bridge with a torii (sacred arch) and cherry blossom tree on one side, with a Canadian maple tree on the other. He died a few months later.

(Author's note: I never knew Kenji Ishii, but his daughter, Midge, (Michiko), currently a PhD. student in History, I also did not know before 1989, until she invited me to be a presenter at the Seniors' Conference in Calgary in 1989. When she heard that I was working on a book on the Road Camps, she graciously offered me some photos to use in this book, for which I am really grateful. The cover photo is one of them, and another is in the Hope-Princeton Highway chapter.)

* * * *

KANTARO KADOTA

1882 - 1978

Kantaro Kadota was born on January the 15th, 1882, in a little village named Hashizu mura, in Tottori-ken.

Kantaro emigrated to Canada with his older brother in 1903 and it took three months for the two of them to work their way across the Pacific Ocean, on a tramp steamer, by doing various jobs like cutting wood for the boat's boilers at various South Sea Islands, picking pineapples and other odd jobs. They eventually landed in San Francisco, but left when they heard about the threat of

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earthquakes there and worked their way up the coast to Vancouver, where Kantaro and his brother worked as salmon fishermen, at the mouth of the Fraser River, at a village which later became Steveston.

Kantaro returned to Japan in 1912 to marry Shigeno Kunita from the same village. They returned to Canada and Kantaro worked for a while as a fisherman. However, he decided that fishing wasn't for him, so he went to night school and became a millwright in the sawmill industry. He worked for the Whalen Pulp and Paper Company for 10 years from 1915 to 1925, in Swanson Bay, a place just a few miles south of Prince Rupert, which no longer exists today. After his time at Swanson Bay, he went to a place called Englewood, on Vancouver Island, to work for a company called Wood and English Lumber Company, where he remained until December the 8th, when the American company which had taken over the mill fired all the Japanese who were still working, and gave them 24 hours to vacate the townsite. It was while he was there at Englewood, that he developed a reputation for being the most highly productive foreman of a crew in the saw mill industry. It is also interesting to learn, that at that period in the history of the lumber industry, many of the married men had to live apart from their families because the companies would not provide housing for very many family groups. Over the course of time, the Kadotas had eight children, and the children, in order to obtain their education, had to return to the mainland by steamer, because there were no facilities for education in the townsite and no roads servicing that part of northern Vancouver Island. The trip could take up to 18 hours by steamer depending on the tide. When on the mainland, they lived in Vancouver and New Westminster at various periods of their lives, but their father, like many of the married men, could only take time once or twice a year to visit with his family.

When Kantaro was given notice to vacate the townsite, there was only himself and his son George because the eldest son had married earlier, in 1938, and had gone to Japan with his American bride because of immigration laws and a son Charles, was attending UBC in Vancouver. Two daughters had gone to Japan

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earlier, at different times, to be educated there in language and culture, in preparation for future marriage. In 1940, Mrs. Kadota returned to Japan to attend to the coming marriages of the two daughters, taking the three youngest sons with her.

Although Kantaro was 60 years old at the time of the evacuation, he insisted on staying with his two remaining sons; Charles, and George who was two years older than Charles. When Kantaro's number came up, he elected to go to Ontario, because he knew that his two sons would eventually end up there. Charles was given an extension on his call, to allow him to finish his exams. George elected to remain with Charles and went on the RCMP's "*most wanted list*" for not reporting when his number came up. When Charles had finished his exams, both men reported to the RCMP, where George was threatened with internment, but then, he was allowed to go with his brother to Ontario. There they were re-united with their father at Camp Black in late April of 1942 and one of the first things they did was construct the "*nihon buro*" which was ubiquitous in the Japanese Road Camps.

Kantaro was a very spiritual person, and he and his two sons would walk into Schreiber on Sunday mornings, where they would attend the United Church. It was there that they were be-friended by Mr. Percy Sully, who was a CPR engineer, and also a member of the same church. Sully learned that Kantaro was a boat builder during the depression years, and arranged for the three Kadotas to build a boat for his son-in-law. The boat was built by hand with white oak ribs, Douglas Fir framing and caulked planking of West Coast red cedar.

In August of 1942, Kantaro was sought out by the owner of the Great Lakes Lumber Company, Mr. Edward Johnson. He had heard from his friend and classmate Mr. English, who had previously owned the lumber company at which Kantaro had worked in Englewood, about the excellent reputation Kantaro had developed there as a millwright and sawmill foreman. Kantaro and his sons met with Mr. Johnson and arranged with him to hire any Japanese men in the camps with logging or sawmill experience. Port Arthur and Fort William did not welcome the

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Japanese, so Mr. Johnson built bunkhouses at the millsite to house the men.

In mid 1943, Kantaro received word through the International Red Cross that his wife was very ill in Japan and wanted him to return to her. He was advised by the RCMP that he would have to give up all his rights as a naturalized Canadian if he returned to Japan. He did not want to give up his rights or leave his sons, but they persuaded him to go.

The sons lost contact with the family until 1946, and it was not until 1961 when the family was able to be re-united in Canada. Their mother, Shigeno, passed away in Vancouver in 1976 and Kantaro in 1978. They are buried, along with one son, in the Fraser Cemetery in New Westminster, about three blocks from the house they called home from about 1930 to 1940. They were pre-deceased by a daughter and a son.

(Author's note: I was not at Camp Black long enough to become acquainted with the Kadota family, although I can remember hearing about the father and sons who walked to Schreiber to attend church on Sunday mornings. I'm not really sure when I met George or Charles after our road camp experience, but George is married to a woman whom I met years ago when I lived in Toronto while going to school, and I met Charles at the Senior's Conference, in Calgary in 1989, where I talked to him about reading about the Kadotas going to Rossport, from Camp Black, from the Archival records. I am grateful to George for supplying me with a very interesting history of the whole Kadota family, much more material than I could use, but very interesting and material for their own family history!)

* * * *

RYOICHI ROY ITO

Roy Ito was born in Vancouver February 8, 1922. His parents were Jukichi and Suga Ito from Shiga-ken. They came to Canada about 1908. He received his education at Macdonald elementary, Templeton Junior High, Vancouver Technical and Britannia High School. He also received his middle school diploma from the Vancouver Japanese Language School. At evacuation time he and

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his brother, Ken, were working as graders for the Sterling Lumber Company at the foot of Victoria Drive.

In April 1942 he was sent to Cambie Siding on the same train as Frank Moritsugu. His family chose to go to a sugar beet farm in Southern Alberta (Iron Springs). After just two weeks sleeping in the box cars at Cambie Siding, he and his brother returned to Vancouver to join the Family.

After one year on the farm, Roy joined **The New Canadian** staff in Kaslo, December, 1942. He was accepted by McMaster University in September, 1943, and enrolled in the History and Political Economy program. In March, 1945, when the Canadian government finally accepted Japanese Canadians into the army as linguists, Roy enlisted, took his basic infantry training at Brantford and his language training at S-20, Canadian Army, Japanese Language School in Vancouver.

By March, 1946, Roy was in Singapore. From there he was sent to Hongkong to work with the War Crimes Investigation Unit. His duties included interrogating, interpreting, translating and acting as a court monitor with the No. 5 War Crimes Court. The trial of Kanao Inouye, the "*Kamloops Kid*" was held in this court. Details of his service and those of other Nisei in the Far East can be found in Ito's book, **We Went to War: The Story of the Japanese Canadians who Served During the First and Second World Wars.** (Publisher, Canada's Wings)

He was discharged in July, 1947, in the rank of Warrant Officer II and returned to McMaster University. He graduated in 1949 with a B.A., and took his Bachelor of Pedagogy at the University of Toronto. After 34 years with the Hamilton Board of Education as teacher and principal, he retired in 1984.

Roy was a participant and team leader for Project Overseas conducted by the Canadian Teachers Federation. Canadian teachers, at the invitation of their overseas colleagues, teach teachers during the summer vacation months. Roy has been to Nyasaland, 1963; Uganda, 1966; Lethoso, 1969; Sierra Leone, 1972; Grenada in the West Indies, 1975 and Zimbabwe, 1984.

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He has co-authored three volumes in the Ryerson Social Science Series published by McGraw - Hill Ryerson and wrote **The Japanese Canadians**, (Nelson), and **We Went to War**.

He was a member of the McMaster Senate for three years; a member of the Board of Directors of the Nipponia Home for two years; a member of the board of Directors of the Hamilton Chapter, NAJC, in 1992; and principal of the Japanese Language School at Oteora, Hamilton Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre. Currently he is vice chairman of the S-20 and Nisei Veterans Association.

Married to Mitsuko Maehara formerly of Kelowna, he has four children and six grandchildren. He spends his time working at his word processor, making beer and wine, travelling and looking after the Hamilton Japanese United Church as head custodian.

(Author's note: I did not know Roy through the Evacuation period, but met him through my brother Stum. Roy wrote the column "**High and Low**" in "**The New Canadian**". He must be a poker fan. When I called him, it was his poker night, and he told me that the name of his column was derived from that good old poker game: "*high and low*".)

* * * *

VICTOR KADONAGA

Victor Kadonaga was born in Swanson Bay, B.C. in 1925. His parents were Shigeji and Miyo Kadonaga of Tottori-ken, Japan. The family was evacuated from Vancouver in varying stages during 1942 but finally brought together in Tashme relocation camp by September of that year. When he turned 18 there, he was told that regulations required him to leave the relocation camp and, like other single men, be sent to a road camp. However, at the request of a number of youth groups with which he had been actively involved in Tashme, the Security Commission authorities allowed him to remain with his family, while he commuted daily to and from 15 Mile Road Camp on the **Hope-Princeton Highway Project** to which he was assigned.

As a very young man used to urban life, he had to learn new skills in the road camp: felling trees, clearing land and preparing

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As a very young man used to urban life, he had to learn new skills in the road camp: felling trees, clearing land and preparing

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road beds, fighting forest fires, handling explosives, working in mess halls; invaluable life experiences as it turned out. He had to protect himself from hordes of black flies in the summer, and unfamiliar intense cold in the winter. In August 1945, he relocated to Hamilton, Ontario and found work in the local CIL factory in the maintenance department.

Victor received his public school education in B.C. and had to leave Kitsilano High School, Vancouver, during Grade 11 because of the War. He studied for his Grade 12 by correspondence in Tashme. After moving to Ontario, he completed his Grade 13 at Goderich Collegiate Institute and then went on to get his B.A. from McMaster University. He received his B.Ed. in 1954 and his M.Ed. in 1959 from the University of Toronto. After graduating from Hamilton Normal School, he was employed by the Board of Education for the City of Hamilton as a teacher and later as a counsellor/consultant until his retirement in 1984.

Victor married Akiko Tanaka in 1961. They have one daughter, Lisa, who is presently working on her Ph.D. at the University of Victoria. The family still lives in Hamilton.

Victor was the general secretary of the Canadian Kodokan Black Belt Association (Judo Canada) from 1958 to 1970; was a former Assistant Secretary-General of the Pan-American Judo Union; is a Sandan (3rd Degree Kodokan Black Belt); was awarded the 1967 Centennial Medal and the Queen's Silver Jubilee Medal.

Victor is currently active as a contributing editor of a teacher's publication, a volunteer worker at the Royal Botanical Gardens, enjoys reading, music, calligraphy, nature hikes, and is studying Japanese.

(Author's note: I met Victor through his daughter, Lisa, who has an apartment in my sister-in-law, Kyoshi's home in Victoria, while she studies for her Ph.D. in Climatology at U of Victoria. I was there in early June of 1992 attending the Vic High Class of 1942, 50 year reunion. I had a draft of the first chapter of this book with me, and both of them read it and were not too impressed. Lisa said that her dad had been in a road camp, and suggested that I get

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some survivor history from him, which, as the reader knows happened. Lisa also gave me some suggestions on the way the book might be styled, suggestions which I have periodically reviewed and used. I am grateful to Victor for locating Tashme and the two Hope end camps, on the map we used for the Hope-Princeton Highway, as well as help with some of the Japanese translations.)

* * * *

ROBERT S. OIKAWA

Bob Oikawa was born in Maple Ridge, BC, on December 11, 1918. He received his public and high school education in Maple Ridge and studied accounting while he was in the road camp in the winter of 1942, and later in Hamilton at McMaster University where he received his CMA degree, and also studied Industrial Engineering.

He was exiled to the Revelstoke-Sicamous Highway Project in June of 1942, where he ended up at the Griffin Lake Road Camp. He remained there until June of 1943 when he accepted a job as a chauffeur/house boy in Collingwood, Ontario, for two months. He moved from there in September of 1943, to a similar position in Brampton until February of 1944. From March of 1944 to March of 1945, Bob worked for Kraft Containers Limited in Hamilton, as an accountant, until he took a leave of absence to join the Canadian Army as a Japanese linguist.

Bob took his basic training at Brantford and then went to the S-20, Canadian Army, Japanese Language School in Vancouver. After his language training, he was posted to Washington, DC, to the Pacific Military Intelligence Research Section (PACMIRS), where the Centre's main function was to: *"translate, classify and catalogue captured documents from the Pacific Theatre."* (Ito's book, *"We Went to War"*, p.251)

When he received his discharge in December of 1946, Bob returned to Kraft Containers in Hamilton and worked through several company name changes and location changes in Montreal and Mississauga. He was the Manager of Cost Accounting for 25 years until his retirement in April of 1984.

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Bob married the former Mitsue Umetsu from Mission City BC, on June the 15th, 1945. He and his wife have been very active members of the United Church for 40 years, in Hamilton, in Roxboro, Quebec and in Burlington. Both have been honoured in the Church, by being elected life members; Mitsue, in the UCW and Bob, as an elder.

Bob was also involved in the YMCA in Hamilton, through Stan Sneyd, whose father worked with G. Ernest Trueman in Toronto with the placement of Japanese, in Southern Ontario. The So-Phy-Ed (SOcial, PHysical, EDucational) Club was started through the efforts of the "Y" and the Nisei, and was the main source of contact for Japanese Canadians in Hamilton for many years. Bob became a member of the "Y's Men's Club", an international service club of the YMCA and received an honorary life membership in 1957.

Bob keeps active in his retirement with volunteer work at the Joseph Brant Memorial Hospital in Burlington, with his church, the Port Nelson United Church in Burlington, and with gardening, golfing and fishing. He and his wife reside in Burlington.

(Author's note: Bob is one person whom I have not personally met yet and I am very grateful to him for being one respondent who supplied a biography, out of approximately 43 names which were printed in the "Nikkei Voice", asking for the men to contact me because I was writing a history of the Road Camps. He wrote a number of reports from Griffin Lake to "The New Canadian" before he relocated to Ontario. In the course of researching the files, I came across several issues of the So-Phy-Ed Newsletter which were so essential to communication in the early years of the Nisei community in Hamilton. These were in the files from Southern Ontario where Trueman's reports were located.)

* * * *

KUNIO SHIMIZU

(1912 - 1982)

Kunio Shimizu was born in Victoria on August 13, 1912, the first son and oldest child of Kiyoshi and Hana Shimizu from Miyagi-ken. He was taken to Japan by his grandparents at the age

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of 5, and returned to Canada at the age of 16. He went to Victoria High School which was difficult for him, because of the language barrier. However, by hard work both at school and in the summers (Author's note: I can remember he once worked on the cableship which repaired undersea cable in the Pacific) and with much encouragement from his teachers, he was able to finish High School and graduate from UBC in 1938 with a degree in Maths and Physics.

After graduation, unable to find work in his field, his proficiency in both languages enabled him to work for the Japanese Business Men's Association, he also received honoraria as the bilingual secretary of the Japanese Welfare Federation and the general secretary of the Japanese Canadian Citizens League. He also worked with Tom Shoyama on "The New Canadian" after some of the staffers were exiled to the road camps in the first groups, because they were Nationals.

Kunio was exiled from Vancouver to the Schreiber-Jackfish Highway Project on May the 11th, 1942, after being accused of encouraging the Nisei to resist the orders of the BCSC. He ended up at Camp Black from where he volunteered, in early June, to work on the sugar beet farms of South-Western Ontario.

After harvest in the sugar-beet camp at Valetta in South-Western Ontario, he was one of a few fortunate individuals who were permitted to go directly to Toronto to seek employment. He worked as a stock taker, then in quality control for Imperial Optical. He later worked for International Resistance in quality control and while there, was asked, in 1945, to teach in the UK as a Japanese language instructor. However, he was also asked to teach Japanese in the Canadian Army Intelligence School as a **private!** which he refused as discriminatory and was appointed as a civilian instructor with the same pay as other civilian instructors. He terminated his employment with the Language School after six months, because the wives of the Japanese Canadian men at the School, were barred from visiting their husbands in Vancouver.

He was married in December 1944, to the former Kyoshi Kato, who was a Social Work graduate of UBC. Their first child, born in 1947, had serious health problems from birth, and required

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much attention from both parents until her early death. They subsequently had three more healthy children, Aki, Chiyo and Ken.

In September of 1946, he enrolled on a part-time basis, in the Masters program, in Mathematical Statistics at the U of T and taught Calculus and Analytical geometry to first year Engineering students. He was unable to finish his studies because of the health problems of his first child and went to Ottawa in May of 1948, as a Statistician with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Later he went to the National Film Board as a quality control officer, and finally in 1954 to Energy Mines and Resources as a mathematical statistician until his retirement in 1976. In the 1950's he went to take courses at several universities in the US to study computer analysis of geologic, hydrographic and geographic data. He was instrumental in the introduction of the concept of the graphical plotting of data from multifactorial psychological analysis.

He and Kyoshi were founding members of the JCCD in Toronto which ultimately became the NAJC. He was an active member in Toronto of Reverend Finlay's Carleton St. United Church Fellowship of Reconciliation. In Ottawa he and Kyoshi were active in organizing activities for the Japanese community which eventually resulted in the formation, in 1976, of the Ottawa Japanese Community Association which brought Canadian-born and recent immigrant Japanese together. They also helped to form the Ottawa Crippled Children's Treatment Centre where their first child was a client. He worked on a free lance basis as a Translator and Interpreter within the Secretary of State, and was instrumental in getting the Ottawa Japanese Language School operating. He tutored External Affairs personnel in Japanese.

He was an good athlete, playing English rugger in High School, badminton, volleyball, swam, and had a golf handicap ranging from 5 - 10. He learned to play the recorder and harmonica in school in Japan, and developed a love for classical music from his uncle in Japan. In retirement he took up the shakuhachi.

He died from a heart attack on February 17, 1982, at the age of 69.

SUSUMU "*SUMO*" SHIMIZU

(1917 - 1973)

Sumo Shimizu was born on February the 10th, 1917, the second son in the Shimizu family. He received his elementary education at the Quadra Primary and North Ward Public Schools. He went to the Victoria High School from which he graduated with his Junior Matriculation and Technical educational certificates. During summer vacation he worked as a waiter and in the kit'chen at the Gorge Tea Gardens and also as a delivery boy for Tokyo Cleaners. After graduating from High School, he worked as a house-boy for a year, then worked as an auto apprentice for two years. From 1938 to 1942 he worked as a labourer at the Royston Lumber Mill. He left Royston in March of 1942 with the intention of going East to avoid compulsory evacuation. However, in Vancouver he was immediately arrested and placed in Hastings Park, where he worked in the Mess Hall.

Sumo volunteered for exile to the Schreiber-Jackfish Highway Project and on the 25th of April, 1942, was shipped to the Jackfish Camp. Like most of the early arrivals on this project, he volunteered for the sugar beet camps in early June and ended up at Dover Centre which is just a few miles from Wallaceburg. As in the case of his older brother, Kunio, he was among the privileged few who were allowed to go to Toronto to seek employment; in his case because of his auto mechanic experience.

Sumo started to work for the A.D. Gorrie Chev/Olds Dealership on Gerrard St. E., where he worked the night shift as a general mechanic's helper and emergency tow truck driver and when he received his mechanic's license, he worked the night shift as a qualified mechanic. He eventually received his certification as an electrical and ignition specialist and worked for the firm for 28 years until they moved to Scarborough as the Golden Mile Chev/Olds Dealership. He moved to Robertson Motors and worked there until his death, from a heart attack, on October the 13th, of 1973. His wife, Yuki, predeceased him in August of 1973.

Sumo married the former Yuki Ioi, in June of 1944. They had two sons and a daughter. The oldest James works as a technician

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with IBM, a daughter, Louise, who works as a secretary, and Stephen the youngest, who is an Engineer with an MBA, lives and works in Montreal.

Sumo was an avid fisherman, a hunter and a lover of puzzles of many kinds.

* * * *

TSUTOMU "STUM" SHIMIZU

Stum Shimizu was born in Victoria, BC, on July the 20th, 1922, the third son in the Shimizu family. He received his elementary schooling at Quadra Primary and North Ward Public Schools and received his Grade 12 Junior Matriculation and Technical education certificates at Victoria High School in 1940. He received his Grade 13 (Upper School) Senior Matriculation at Jarvis Collegiate in 1947, and proceeded to the University of Toronto where he received his BA in Honours Science in 1951 and his MA in Biochemistry in 1953.

While at high school in Victoria, Stum worked summers on a farm where they did mixed and dairy farming. After graduation from high school, like all Nisei of that day, he worked at whatever job was available, landscape gardener's helper, and then in a sash and door saw mill operation until December the 7th, when all the Japanese working there were fired. After that he worked at whatever was available; labourer and swamper, until his exile to Hastings Park on April the 23rd, and to Camp Black on May the 6th.

At Camp Black, he worked as a "cookie" in the mess hall and later as a labourer on the road. He was among the large group which was the first to volunteer for the sugar beet camps and left the Road Camp on May the 28th to work the summer in Glencoe on a variety of farm jobs in addition to the thinning, second hoeing and harvesting of sugar beets, which ended on November the 11th.

Next came pulp-wood cutting in the bush 30 miles north of Kapuskasing, near Smokey Falls. He returned to Schreiber around the middle of April of 1943, after the winter's work was done, declining the offer of employment on the log drive, to await the

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chance to go to Toronto. While in Schreiber for the second time, he worked as a labourer, plumber and first aid man until he was permitted to go to Toronto on May the 28th. While on the way to Toronto, he stopped at North Bay to try and enlist in the RCAF but was rejected only because of his Japanese ancestry.

In Toronto he began work as a janitor at the A.D.Gorrie Chev/Olds dealership where brother, Susumu, had previously found work as an auto mechanic. A year later Stum began to apprentice as an auto mechanic there.

He volunteered for the Army's Japanese Intelligence Service and after taking basic training in Brantford and Japanese language training at S-20 in Vancouver. He was discharged in July of 1946.

After his discharge, he obtained his BA and while working towards the degree he worked as a cancer research assistant at the Banting and Best Institute at the U of T. While working towards his MA degree he worked as a research assistant in Air Force Medicine. After attaining his MA, he worked as Chief Biochemist for the New Mount Sinai Hospital in Toronto from 1953 - 1955.

Stum then went to the Noxzema Company as Compounding Supervisor and New Development Chemist and retired from the Company in July 1987 as Senior VP, Research and Development.

In 1989, after he received his \$21,000 Redress payment, he had a Scholarship Fund established at University College, of the University of Toronto, in the names of Kiyoshi and Hana Shimizu, his parents, for any student intending to make teaching a career goal.

He has served as Chairman:

- of the Canadian Cosmetic, Toiletry and Fragrance Association and Proprietary Association - Production and Technical Section;
- Men's activity, Toronto Board of Trade Golf and Country Club;
- S-20 and Nisei Veterans Association;
- of the History Committee of the S-20 and Nisei Veterans Association which was responsible for the publication, in 1987, of Roy Ito's book *"We Went to War"* and publication of the second edition, in 1992, published with the financial support of the National Association of Japanese Canadians.

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His other interests include skiing, speed skating, gardening and golfing.

On September 4th, 1954, Stum married June Moritsugu, they had three daughters and one son; two daughters and the son surviving. They also have three grandchildren, two boys and a girl.

* * * *

JURO "DEO" SUZUKI

Deo Suzuki was born in Sunbury BC, which is between New Westminster and Ladner, on December the 5th, 1922, the youngest boy of five boys and five girls. His father, Gennosuki, and mother, Isono, came from Miyagi-ken in Japan. He finished his public schooling, and then started in the fishing industry, like his father, as a "*boat puller*" at the age of 15; at 16, he went logging; at 17, worked at various jobs around Sunbury; at 18, he went to Rose Harbour in the Queen Charlotte Islands to a whaling station for the season, which was approximately six months and then returned home to Sunbury. He and his older brother, Hachiro who was 21, were placed in Hastings Park in early February of 1942.

Deo had the same idea as I had, to get away as far as possible from the racist attitudes of the people of BC. So, at the age of 19, he and brother, Hachiro, volunteered to go to the Road Camp in Ontario and in April 1942, arrived at Jackfish. When the call came for workers in the sugar beet fields, he volunteered in the first group and was on the same train load as I was, but by the flip of a coin, he ended up in Dresden. He was one of the rare Japanese who stayed with farming in South-Western Ontario, and worked at dairy farming, general farming in the Dresden/Croton area, and then went to a machine shop in Croton until the call for Japanese linguists for the Canadian Army was finally made. He was in the second group of 18 Nisei who were sent to Calcutta, India, and posted in Fagu in Northern India for almost a year, where he was expected to serve as an interpreter. He was discharged from the Army in 1946, and returned to Croton.

Deo returned to the machine shop in Croton where he remained for 10 years as a millwright repairing and building farm machinery. He then went to Florence, a small rural community in

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the general area, to do general farm work for two years; did part-time work in the Post Office there and also worked in a variety store. He became the Post Master for a few years, but had to retire from the job because of an inherited disability, which eventually forced him into a wheel chair like his mother and four of his siblings.

Deo is a community minded individual and was very active in his United Church Young People's Union, which travelled extensively in Kent and Lambton Counties. He was active as an Assistant Scout leader and in the local softball league for young boys and girls.

As a result of his many civic activities, Deo has been honoured as the recipient of:

- the Ontario Medal for Good Citizenship on June the 30th, 1980;
- the Ontario Bicentennial Medal in 1984;
- Canada Day Certificate of Award on July the 1st, 1989;
- the Royal Canadian Legion, Poppy Appreciation Award, from Branch No. 367, Thamesville, November 1990.

Deo still resides in Florence, and his rug hooking keeps him busy. He also has a great collection of dolls in his home.

(Author's note: I did not know Deo until 1989, when he called me from Florence after he saw my request in the "Nikkei Voice" asking for sugar beet survivors to get in touch with me. Florence is not that far from Wallaceburg, but slightly off the beaten track. I was surprised to see that he was in a wheel chair, but very impressed with the samples of his hooked rugs which he showed me, the many dolls in his collection and the various certificates which were hanging on his walls. It happens that his one of his sisters is married to a man I know.)

* * * *

DAVID KUSUNOKI SUGAI

David Sugai was born at Ikeda Bay, in the Queen Charlotte Islands, on July 22nd, 1917. He was the second son of Kenkichi and Sui Sugai from Niigata-ken in Japan.

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David only completed grade 3 in Canada and was taken to Japan to receive his Japanese education and completed his Junior High School there. He returned to Canada in 1934 at the age of 17, but he never went back to school in Canada.

David returned to Canada to rejoin his father who was in Ocean Falls, BC. He worked at painting in the residential areas of the town until he was evacuated to Vancouver. From there he volunteered to go to Ontario in early April of 1942, and ended up at the Jackfish Camp on the Schreiber-Jackfish Highway Project. He volunteered to work on the sugar beet farms and left Jackfish on the 4th of June and ended up at Dover Centre which is just a few miles from Wallaceburg. He was transferred to the camp at Wallaceburg where he finished the season in early November of 1942.

After sugar beets were harvested, he chose to go to Kapuskasing to work in the bush cutting pulp-wood. He told me he volunteered for bush work because he wanted to see as much of Ontario as he could, at the government's expense. When the winter's work was done in April of 1943, he chose to return to Schreiber to see where else he could find work. On the 15th of May, he went to Fort William to work in the sawmill there.

In 1944, he was able to go to Hamilton and went back to work in his painter's trade for Vogl and Sons for 4 years, after which he decided to become self-employed in the Painting and Decorating business which he did until his retirement in 1987.

David married the former Lillian Yuriko Tokiwa in 1948. They have a daughter who is a researcher with the CBC and a son who is a Doctor of Rheumatology and Internal Medicine.

David is:

- a member, along with his wife, of the Hamilton Japanese United Church where he serves on the Official Board;
- a member of the Hamilton Japanese Cultural Centre;
- a member of the Senior's group known as: "*Koyukai*", of which he is President and under whose auspices, he and his wife participate, once a week, from May to October in: "Gate Ball";

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- also a bowler, along with his wife, every week from September to May, with the Senior's group.

(Author's note: David told me at Victor Kadonaga's home that he still remembered me, after 50 years, from our time in the bush camp at Kapuskasing (he even gave me a picture of myself at that time which he had kept in his album). I had a hard time trying to remember him at the camp. Gradually, the picture of a husky, quiet, 25 year old, came back to me. The reader has to picture a camp with men who could speak English well, as the Victoria men could, those like David who were much more comfortable speaking Japanese, and then those who could speak both languages well. The men in the latter group I can remember much more readily. We pretty much kept in our own groups for ease of language purposes. David and I reminisced and laughed about our train ride to Schreiber because we had a wild taxi ride out of Timmins to catch our train, which had left before we could finish with the RCMP Office there. We caught up with it at a place called Porquis Junction, I believe. We had to spend a night in a flop-house in Hearst, where we arrived in the dead of night and then had to fight off the bed bugs when we tried to sleep. It was so bad, that someone in the room above the one Stum and I shared, must have urinated in the corner of his room, because we could hear and then see the urine flow down our bedroom wall! This, while we had the light on, fighting off the bed bugs!)

* * * *

GEORGE TANAKA

1912 - 1982

George Tanaka was born in Vancouver on the 15th of July 1912, the eldest son, (Kinzie being the younger) of Tora Saboru Tanaka, and Kane Hasegawa, from Yokohama. His father was a tailor and the family lived at 517 Burrard St. near Pender, which was some distance from Japanese town. As a consequence, neither boy was particularly proficient in Japanese. He received his public schooling at Aberdeen School, and then proceeded to Vancouver Technical School because his father died in 1923, and his mother did not believe that it would be possible for her sons to go to university on the meagre earnings from her dress-making shop. At

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the technical school, in addition to the basic educational subjects, he was exposed to trades which were to serve him well in his later years.

Like all Japanese Nisei in that period before WW II, he found it difficult to get a job which would use his talents. He went into gardening work with Mr. Moritsugu, Frank's father. However, his dream was to be a writer, and to that end he was an avid reader of books on writing and philosophy. His major find in the world of books was Frank Lloyd Wright's mid-thirties book, about his visit to Japan, in which he discussed the philosophy of architecture, design and gardens. This book became George's Bible for the new vision it gave him about his life's work; to become a Landscape Architect.

George did not have to go to the Road Camps, but his sense of new adventure and the chance to unite his mother and brother, Kinzie, in the East, caused him to choose to go to Ontario and the Schreiber-Jackfish Highway Project. He spent about three weeks in Camp Black and then volunteered, in early June, to work in the sugar beet camps for the Ontario Farm Service Force. He was among the fortunate ones who were able to go to Toronto to seek other employment, after the sugar beet harvest was finished, in early November, thanks to Dave Watanabe.

In Toronto, with \$34.00 in his pocket from his summer's work, he began his new life working for an electronics company. In 1943 he and his brother, Kinzie, Roger Obata, along with other Nisei became politically active and formed the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy, to further the cause of Japanese Canadians with respect to their loss of property and household chattels. In January of 1945, when the Canadian government finally allowed the Nisei to enlist, to serve as linguists in the Army, George enlisted and went to basic training in Simcoe and the S-20, Canadian Army, Japanese Language School in Vancouver. He was discharged in August of 1946 without having had a chance to serve in the Far East. In 1947, he accepted the job of Executive Secretary of the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, a national organization formed to fight for the right of

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Japanese Canadians to vote and he served for six years in this capacity.

In 1953 he went back to his gardening interests, and in 1955, he took the plunge and opened up his office as a professional Landscape Architect. He had his work published:

- in 1956, in: *"Canadian Homes and Gardens"*;
- in 1957, in: *"Globe and Mail Magazine"*;
- in 1959, in: *"The Canadian Architect"*;
- in 1960, in: *"Florida Architecture International"*;
- in 1962, in: *"Progressive Architecture"* (USA)
- in 1963, in the Globe and Mail's: *"Canadian Homes"*.

In 1969, he was a winner in two of the three: "Awards" given in *"Excellence in Design"* at the first and only National Professional Design Competition of Landscape Architects held in Ottawa.

George also served as:

- Vice-President of the Ontario Association of Landscape Architects in 1969 - 1970;
- Secretary and Member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects for 1972 - 1974;

George was elected: *"Fellow"* of the Canadian Society of Landscape Architects in 1975; and in 1976, the Ohio State University, Department of Landscape Architecture, presented: **"GEORGE TANAKA - RETROSPECTIVE: CANADIAN LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE AND JAPANESE HERITAGE, GUEST LECTURER HIS WORKS AS ONE OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY'S FOREMOST LANDSCAPE SCULPTORS AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS"**.

In 1944 he married Cana Yamanaka, they had no children. He and his wife were killed in an automobile accident in Pennsylvania on April the 4th 1982, only 5 days after he had given one of the two eulogies at Kunio Shimizu's memorial service in Toronto. Kinzie and his wife Terry were also in the car, and Terry was very badly injured.

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(Author's note: My memory of George, which developed from the three day train trip from Vancouver to Schreiber, was that of a very soft-spoken, gentle person. He and my brother Kunio were about 12 years older than I was, so I never really knew either of them, but over the years, whenever our paths crossed, George always knew who I was. It was during George's eulogy, at Kunio's memorial service, when I learned for the first time that he and my brother, never knew each other before meeting on that train ride to Ontario on May the 11th, 1942)

* * * *

KINZIE TANAKA

Kinzie Tanaka was born in Japan on April 28th, 1915. His mother, Kane, was in Japan with her other son George, because his father, Tora Saburo, thought it would be safer in Japan for his pregnant wife and son. WW I had begun and there were rumours of German U-boats near the Pacific Coast. They did not return to Canada for about a year after Kinzie was born, because of the stress of travel for mother and infant. They resided at 517 Burrard Street near Pender.

Kinzie obtained his elementary schooling at Carleton Public School, and entered Vancouver Technical School, at age 14, as his brother George was graduating from the school. It was at Tech that he learned about radio and joined the Collingwood Radio Club formed by Nisei who had an interest in ham radio.

In the summer, when he had finished his elementary schooling, he went hop picking at Sardis, in the Fraser Valley. This was where he first met Dave Watanabe and noticed that Dave was different from any Nisei he had ever encountered before.

After graduating from Tech, he went to work for a few summers at a shingle camp in Stillwater where he learned what it was like to work hard. They worked a 10 hour day, and after supper and a bath; for about a week at around 8 pm, Kinzie would fall fast asleep.

He even operated a radio repair shop until the War shut him down. In the early months of 1942, he and George worked at landscape gardening and on March the 10th, while they were both

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out working, a Mountie came to their home and handed Mrs. Tanaka the evacuation papers for Kinzie. As she recounted the episode in a letter to her sons when George and Kinzie were in Toronto in 1943, she told how the Mountie handed her the envelope, said he was sorry and then touched his hat and left.

Kinzie left on March the 12th, for Lempriere, on the **Yellowhead-Blue River Highway Project**. From there he contributed five articles to "**The New Canadian**" in 1942.

He left the Project in April of 1943 when his brother, George, found work for him in Toronto at the Radio Trade Supply Company as a radio technician. After eight years there, he was offered a job with Harry Edwards Appliances as Service Manager, eventually becoming the General Manager. He remained there for 16 years, left to go with Bay - Bloor Radio as G.M. for two and one half years, and finally with Jacobi TV and Radio when he was offered the opportunity to establish a new High Fidelity and TV store in the new Fairview Mall in Toronto.

After seven years with Jacobi, a health problem forced Kinzie to back away from the rigors of the retail electronics field and he became the business manager for the Child Care Center which his wife Terry had started at Bloordale United Church and for the Non-Profit Terrytan Integrated Child Center for developmentally handicapped children and other children.

When Kinzie was around 17 or 18, he became politically active in Vancouver and joined the Japanese Canadian Citizens League. There he met Tom Shoyama for the first time. It was in this time period that he applied for his Canadian citizenship, but though he and his mother passed all the requirements for citizenship, it was never granted to them, neither did they receive any explanation for why it was never granted. This was BC racism in its purest form!

After his arrival in Toronto, he stayed with his brother at a rooming house, 84 Gerrard St. E., where Dave Watanabe also lived. The Japanese men in this house together with others in the Japanese community formed the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy (JCCD). George, Kinzie, Roger Obata and George Tamaki, a lawyer, wrote the constitution. This organization

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became national, as the Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (JCCA), which changed again to the present day National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC). There were many contentious issues along the way: shoyu, enlistment and redress; major issues which split the community and in Kinzie's words, *"Friends became enemies."*

Kinzie married Terry Kitamura on July the 1st of 1946 and they have a son, Michael, and a daughter Naomi, and three grandchildren. Kinzie's other activities include gardening, reading, listening to good music, and travelling.

(Author's note: 84 Gerrard St.E., was just a few doors west of where Stum and I lived when we first came to Toronto. It was there that I met Kinzie and his mother Kane for the first time, after he and George were able to call her to come to live in Toronto with them. It was the first time that I met George again, after Stum and I had left Camp Black to go to the sugar beet camp. I am grateful to Kinzie for providing me with George's biographical material as well as his photos of his time on the Yellowhead-Blue River Project. I think that I will always remember that it was in this house at Louis Suzuki's home on New Year's Day, that I ate raw fish on sushi for the first and probably last time, not because his family had made it, but because I'm not one for raw fish and never have been!)

* * * *

REVEREND TAKEFUMI (FREDERICK) TATSU

Takefumi Tatsu was born on the 1st day of April 1911, the eldest son of a Japanese Christian Minister and a very devout Christian mother, in Kobe, Japan.

Takefumi had to teach in a public school for a year, to earn his tuition for higher education. He attended Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan, an equivalent to Yale in the US, where he studied English literature and took the teacher's course for four years. After his graduation in 1934, he taught for two years at a High School and a Public School before he heard the call to become a Minister. From 1936 to 1939 he attended the Kobe Bible School,

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which today is the Kansai Divinity College, where he studied to become a Christian Minister.

In July of 1939, Takefumi was assisting at a Revival Campaign in Tokyo, when he received a message from his father that he, Takefumi, had received a call from the Military for active duty and that he had to report to the Regional Military Office within a week. He immediately left the Campaign, and returned to Kyoto where he reported to the Regional Military Office. After a few minutes interview with the Chief Enrolling Officer, where he witnessed for the Lord, Jesus Christ, the Officer stamped his enrollment papers with the words "*IMMEDIATE DISCHARGE*", and said to him: "*You go to Canada, not only among your own people, but span a bridge of good-will among the people on the North American continent. Clouds over the Pacific Ocean are darker in crisis, so I want you to be an Ambassador of good-will*".

Takefumi emigrated to Canada on December the 1st, 1939, and arrived in Vancouver on the 14th of December, to be a missionary and evangelist to the Japanese people on the Pacific West Coast. When the war with Japan started, he was classed as a Japanese National and was sent to the Yellowhead-Blue River Project in March of 1942, where he remained until April of 1943.

Takefumi volunteered to go to Ontario and was sent to the Darling Company in Chatham, which operated an abattoir and rendering plant which was vital to the war effort. He stayed there several years and then was able to obtain work as a labourer, in the former Libbey, McNeil and Libbey food processing plant. When he retired from Libbey's at the age of 65, he had risen to the level of a maintenance supervisor.

Shortly after Takefumi arrived in Chatham, he met a Mr. Theodore Price who befriended him. Through his friendship with the family, he married the one daughter, Christine, on the 20th of August 1943. They have four sons and several grand-children.

In 1945, Takefumi joined the First Baptist Church of Chatham, where he served first as an Associate pastor, then Assistant pastor, and finally, on November the 1st, 1952, he was called to become a pastor of the First Baptist Church. On October the 28th, 1952, he

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was re-ordained under the affiliation of the Amherstburg Regular Missionary Baptist Association of Ontario. He retired from the pastorate on December the 31st, 1985.

(Author's note: I had not known Reverend Tatsu until after I had retired in 1985. I did some consulting work for the Daymond Company in Chatham in 1986, where I met his son Gary. Later, when I was doing my research at the National Archives, I came across his name and decided that I would interview him about his road camp days. At that time, he was recovering from an illness and the interview was not very audible on tape. The biography above is thanks to his son Gary, who provided me with his father's recently up-dated memoirs.)

* * * *

DAVE TADASHI WATANABE

Dave Watanabe was born on a Fraser River island near New Westminster on September the 6th, 1915. His father emigrated from Mieken to the USA and then to BC. His mother was also from Mieken but went directly to BC to marry.

After grade school he decided to be an autodidact, now, more keenly so than ever. He made the round of jobs open to Japanese Canadians in BC at that time: pulp mill at Woodfibre, fish canneries, sawmills, even: "*shinuka shinguruyama*" up the coast. [Author's note: the following is Dave's translation: "*shinuka*", (shall I choose to die, due to unemployment and starvation?) or go to work at a "*shiguruyama*", (a logging camp in the mountainous coastal region of BC where huge red cedar trees were felled, cut into logs four feet long, then split into pie shaped sections called bolts. The bolts are made into roofing shingles (*shinguru*) at a mill (*shingurumilu*)).

In his words, "*he was docilely escorted to Schreiber on April 1st, 1942*". He was transferred, because of his outspoken views, from Schreiber Camp S.W. 5-5 to Black Camp S.W. 5-4 from where he sent various reports to "*The New Canadian*". Early in June, he along with George Tanaka and my brother, Kunio, and others, volunteered to work for the Ontario Farm Service Force at the Valetta sugar beet camp near Tilbury.

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When Dave replied to my enquiry for information about himself, he wrote: *"The round-up, the cattle car trip and the enforced stay at Schreiber Road Camps made me acutely aware of my 2nd class Canadian citizenship status. A new day dawned for me when some of us were allowed to leave, by volunteering for farm work in Southern Ontario. I soon realized that there is a broad free world outside of our ghetto existence in and around Vancouver, B.C. My outlook and interest have been expanding ever since."*

After: *"stooping to thin sugar beetlings and grovelling with the onion harvest"*, he was the first man permitted to leave this sugar beet camp to seek employment in Toronto. He started with Atlas Chemical Company, as a one man producer of Javelle Water. He worked part-time as the personal Swedish Masseur to Mr. George MacNamara, then later, full time as well, as a lathe operator in MacNamara's machine shop which serviced his nation-wide construction firm.

When the Canadian Army finally accepted Japanese Canadians, Dave enlisted, took his basic training in Brantford, then went to S-20, Canadian Army, Japanese Language School, in Vancouver, for language training. The need for soldiers trained in Japanese language skills disappeared before he could be sent to the Far East.

He returned to Brantford where he became a Custom Home-builder. In 1965 he and his wife and son towed a U-Haul trailer to Burbank, California, where he worked as a construction project manager for ten years, to retirement. He and his wife, Muriel Bennett: *"a fine, attractive and popular English girl"* retired to Costa Rica where she passed away in 1991. Their son still lives in California.

From the age of twelve, Dave became interested in health and physical fitness through natural methods. He tells me he continues to learn, analyze and experiment on himself, keeping himself young and energetic. Although he says his occupation is *"enjoying Costarican life in a land of natural beauty, ideal climate, friendly people and low cost of living,"* he is active in other things.

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He invented "'Banabits', a baking ingredient similar in appearance to raisins, with a delicious and distinctive taste, made from culled bananas, which is free for the hauling and in almost unlimited supply. He is also a consultant for large international loan application packages which increase the chances of getting a favourable reply," and "He is presently in charge of building a Radisson Hotels International franchised luxury hotel in Costa Rica, called 'The Inn at Spirit Rock' ".

[Author's note: when I met Dave for the first time at Camp Black, I was really impressed by his physique and gregarious nature. There, before me, was a Japanese Charles Atlas (for you younger readers, Arnold Schwarzenegger). None of the Victoria young men were into body building, so Dave was a revelation to me. I was and am, his antithetical 125 pound weakling! I am grateful to Dave and Fax for his Japanese translation, Bob Izawa of Chatham did his best with the West Coast Japanese "patois".]

* * * *

YOSHIO "YON" SHIMIZU

Yon Shimizu was one of the four Shimizu brothers to be exiled to Ontario in 1942. He was born in Victoria, BC, on February 21st, 1924. He completed his education to Grade 12 at Victoria High School, and was exiled to Hastings Park in late April, and then chose to leave for Schreiber, Ontario, with his oldest brother, Kunio, on May the 11th, 1942.

Yon volunteered with brother Stum to work in Southwestern Ontario for the Ontario Farm Service Force and arrived in Glencoe on May 29th and worked at various farm jobs including the infamous (for the city-bred Japanese) sugar beet thinning, second hoeing and harvesting or "*topping*". He volunteered with Stum for bush work in Kapuskasing rather than go back to road work and worked there from November 1942 to April 1943. He went back to Schreiber with Stum and then to Toronto at the end of May, where brothers Kunio and Sumo had arranged jobs for them.

Yon worked at Deluxe Platers until October of 1943, and went into Jarvis Collegiate to complete Grade 13 prior to University entrance in the fall of 1944. He graduated from the U of T in May

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1948 in Chemical Engineering, finally got a job in August, at the Sydenham Trading Company Division of the Schultz Die Casting Company of Wallaceburg, through a good friend, who was a class-mate at the U of T, who had ended up in Wallaceburg at the Canada and Dominion Sugar Company. Yon worked for Sydenham Trading until 1959, and then went to Hahn Brass in New Hamburg for a year and returned to Wallaceburg to the Luster Corporation. All these jobs were in various capacities in electroplating companies. He moved to the Wallaceburg Brass Company in December of 1960, in the capacity of Chemical and Metallurgical Process Engineer. While he was working for the Brass Company, he attended night classes at the U of Windsor and earned his MBA degree. He worked through many responsible positions with the Company and retired in 1985 as VP and GM of the Waltec Industries Division, now Delta Faucets of Canada.

In 1985, Yon was named by the Wallaceburg and District Chamber of Commerce as its "Citizen of the Year", and in 1992, the Wallaceburg Junior Chamber of Commerce named him their "Citizen of the Year".

Yon married Norma Bishop of Wallaceburg on May 1st, 1953. They have one daughter Susan, who is married to Cameron Green; a granddaughter 4, and a grandson 1, living in London, Ontario.

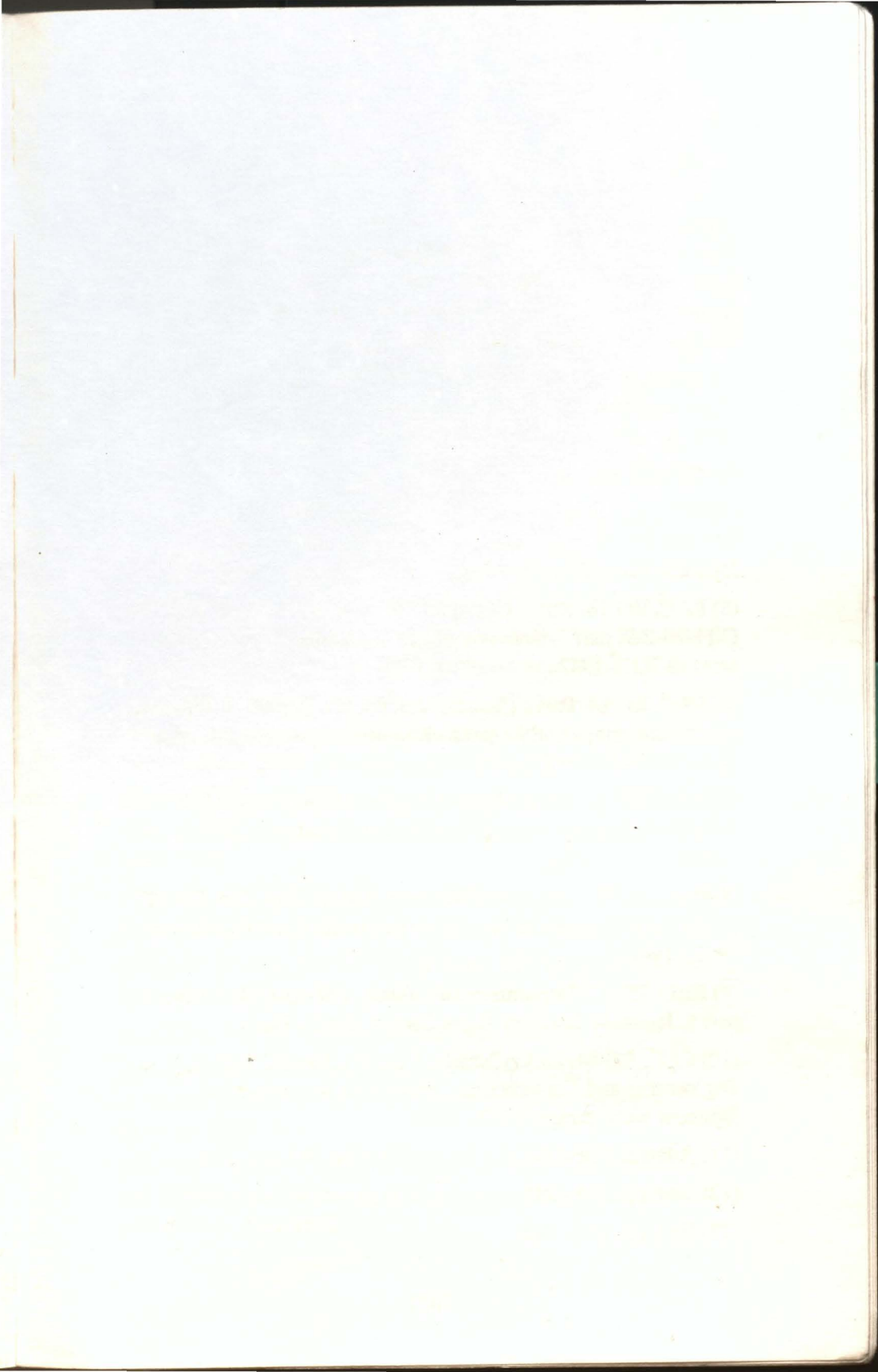
Yon is a vegetable and flower gardener and a golfer, about an 18 handicap, but getting this book finished has kept him off the golf course this Spring and maybe Summer as well.

Yon is currently Chair of the Ontario Government St. Clair Parkway Commission, a member and the first President of the Federal Government Chatham/Kent Community Futures Commission, he is a member of Trinity United Church and teaches a class of 9, 10 and 11 year old children. He is also a member of Trinity's Scout Group Committee. He also does volunteer work for the Salvation Army Red Shield and Christmas Kettle Appeals.

In 1992, Yon was instrumental in organizing a 50 year Anniversary Reunion for the survivors of the Victoria exile. Together with his sister-in-law, Kyoshi, he was able to arrange for the dedication and installation, by the City, of a memorial plaque

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in Centennial Square, in the heart of the City, commemorating the event. This plaque is shown on the back cover.



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THE EXILES chronicle what happened to the Japanese men who were exiled to the Road Camps in 1942. It is told primarily through first hand reports written by men to "The New Canadian", a Japanese Canadian Newspaper, letters which the Censors reported to the authorities and "SECRET" and other correspondence of the government authorities who were responsible for them.

ON APRIL 22, 1942, 273 MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY WERE EXILED FROM THEIR HOMES IN THE GREATER VICTORIA AREA. NONE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THIS EVENT EVER RETURNED TO VICTORIA TO RE-ESTABLISH A HOME.

ON AUGUST 4, 1992, 67 SURVIVORS OF THIS DEVASTATING EVENT RETURNED TO VICTORIA TO COMMEMORATE THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXILE. THIS PLAQUE HAS BEEN PLACED HERE, A LOCATION CENTRAL TO WHERE A NUMBER OF US HAD OUR HOMES, TO COMMEMORATE OUR RETURN.

PLACED BY SURVIVOR YOSHIO SHIMIZU.

Courtesy of T. Shimizu